

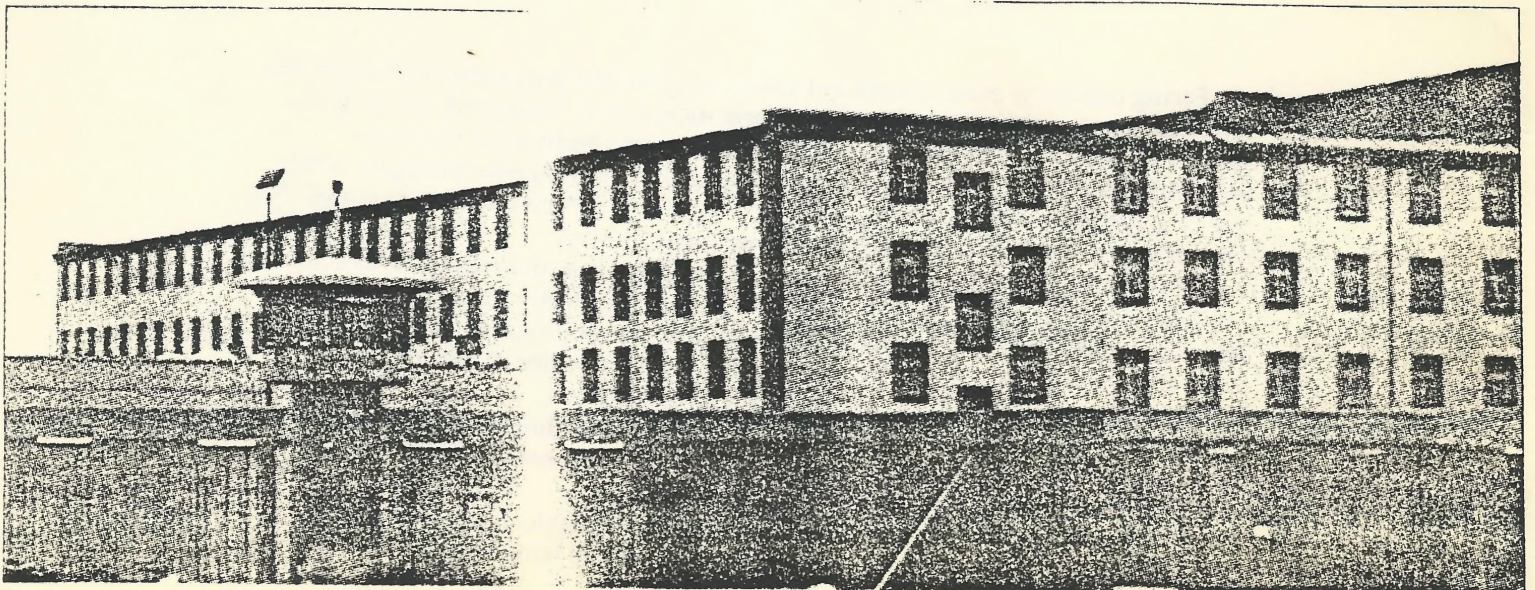
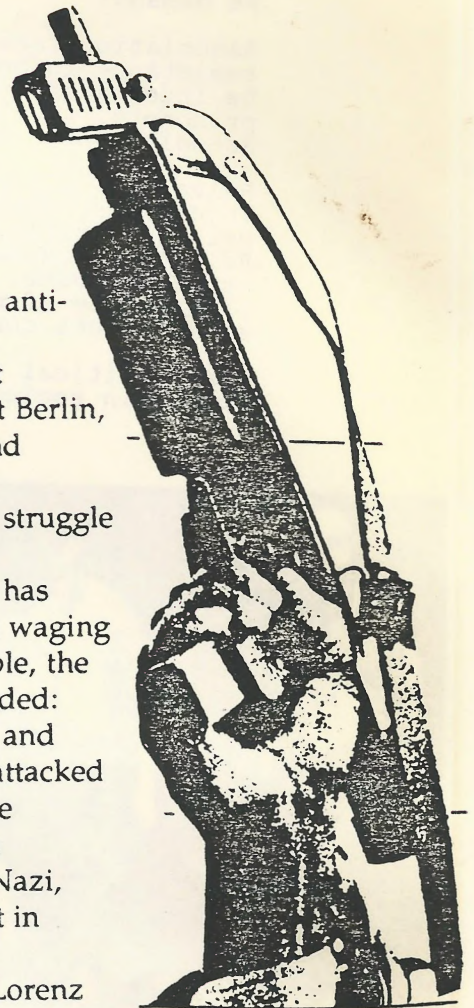
Political Prisoners on Hungerstrike in West Germany

On Feb/1/89, political prisoners from: the Red Army Faction (RAF), an anti-imperialist guerrilla organization, the June 2nd movement, a former anti-authoritarian guerrilla group and other prisoners from the anti-imperialist resistance and militant social movements in West Germany (FRG) and West Berlin, began an unlimited hungerstrike for the association of political prisoners and against isolation torture and sensory deprivation.

The RAF is the first marxist/communist group to wage organized armed struggle in the FRG since 1923. Dedicated to revolutionary change and fighting the exploitation and suppression machine of imperialism from inside, the RAF has been fighting for 19 years. Their strategy, "fighting from the inside", means waging the struggle from the metropolises, the homelands of imperialism, for example, the U.S., the FRG, Great Britain and France. The actions of the RAF have included: attacking U.S. military bases as well as U.S. and FRG police headquarters, and assassinations of imperialist corporate businessmen. On May 5, 1972, they attacked the headquarters of the U.S. army in Heidelberg, West Germany, where the central computer which coordinated the U.S. engagements/actions in North Vietnam was installed. Another example was the assassination of the ex-Nazi, Mercedes-Benz manager, Schleyer in 1977 and the Siemens manager Beckurt in 1986.

The June 2nd movement existed in the 1970's and is well known for the "Lorenz kidnapping". On February 27th, 1975 they kidnapped the West Berlin Christian Democratic Union (CDU) chairperson Peter Lorenz and exchanged him for five

political prisoners, Rolf Pohle, Verena Becker, Rolf Heißler, Gabi Kroecker, Tiedemann, and Ingrid Siepmann. The CDU is a conservative party which rules 'F.R.G. in coalition with the FDP (liberals).



Prison in Celle, West Germany where some RAF Prisoners are incarcerated

The demands of the hungerstrike was contained in a statement released by Helmut Pohl on behalf of political prisoners in the FRG and West Berlin.

We demand:

Association together of all prisoners from the guerilla and resistance in one or two large groups, in which new prisoners would be integrated, with access to common yard exercise with all prisoners.

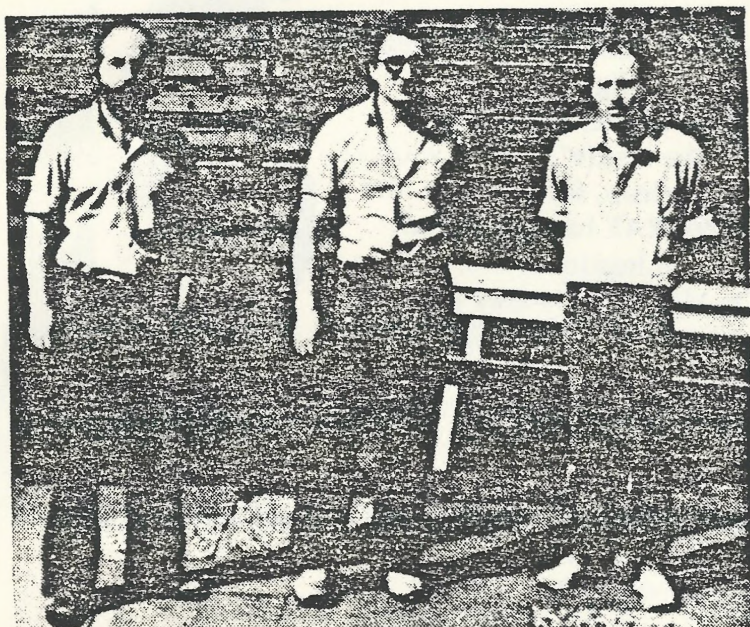
Association of all prisoners who are struggling for that.

Release of all prisoners for whom a return to health after sickness, injury, or torture through isolation is impossible under prison conditions.

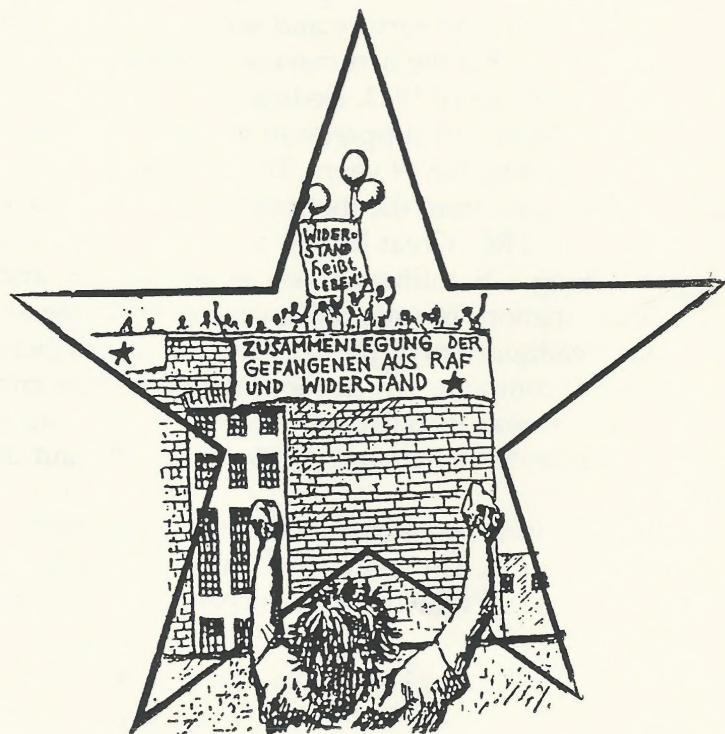
Release of Gunter Sonnenberg, Claudia Wannersdorfer, Bernd Rossner, Angelika Goder.

Free choice of medical care for all prisoners without staatsschutz control.

Open political information and communication for prisoners with all groups in society.



RAF prisoners: Lutz Taufer, Karl Heinz Dellwo (first on hunger strike) and Knut Folkerts, from left to right.



Facing one of the most serious and sustained guerrilla movements in Europe, the FRG has developed isolation/sensory deprivation as the weapon of choice. It is a bloodless, clean and effective form of torture. Sensory deprivation torture is exemplified by the "Toten Trakte" (Dead Wings) of Stammheim/Stuttgart where one prisoner is confined alone in an entire wing that has been otherwise vacated. No contact is permitted with any other prisoner what so ever.

The windowless cells are sound proofed; the lights are under the guards control; one hour of solitary yard exercise daily; the mail is rigorously censored and limited; restricted number of books; the wearing of prison uniforms; non-contact visits and they are monitored directly by state security police. RAF prisoner Bernd Rossner has endured 11 years of this form of total isolation.

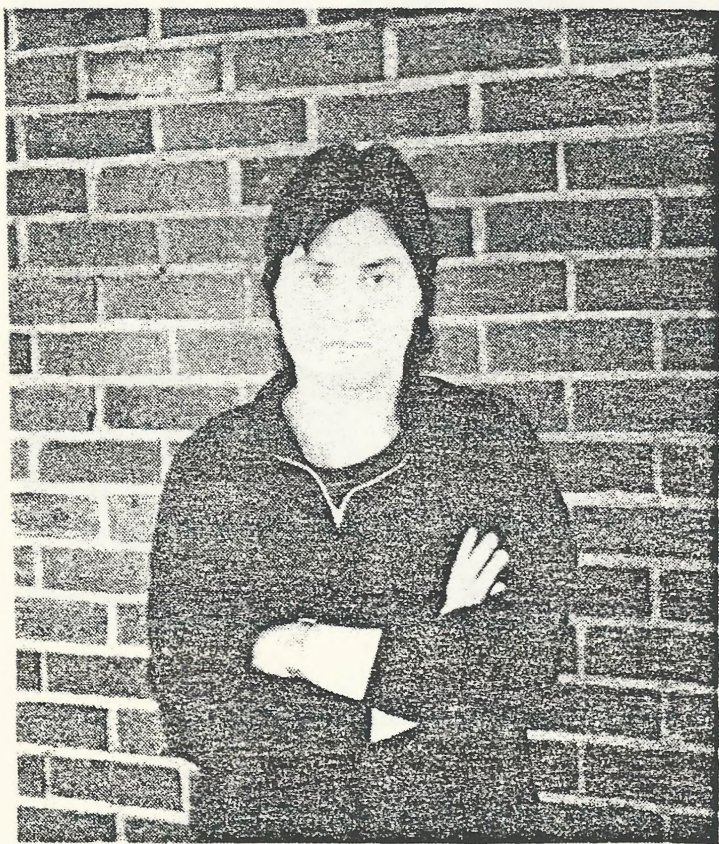
In their statement, the prisoners announced, that this hungerstrike will be a long and drawn-out struggle and they explained why and how this strike would be different than the previous strikes.

"We are now taking on a new form of collective struggle. In the last strike, they made a new law, the 'coma law', which would eliminate hungerstrikes as a means

of struggle. The law means that the will and decision making capacity to keep on struggling would be taken from anyone in a coma in a long, drawn-out medical-technique manipulation in the intensive care unit. That means, furthermore, for the struggle as a whole, that they want to bring the critical development and decision [as to whether to continue the strike] into a narrow timeframe, practically to the point where many of us, after two or three months, would be simultaneously close to the edge. Then maybe several would die. But then, in a short, frontal confrontation — and the state is prepared to 'endure' it — like they said last time. And then, as they see it, the strike would be over.

"And that would also mean that the means of struggle would be turned against us politically. Because, in this simultaneous culmination for us all, the question of the sense and goal would be thrown back at us. When many are dead, how will the others then want to be together.

"We will turn that against then and carry on a long drawn-out struggle. We are going to begin together. Then after two weeks, we are going to go over into a chain. All except two will temporarily interrupt the strike; then after two more weeks, the next two will join in again, and then the new two after two more weeks and further on."



Christa Eckes, the first RAF prisoner (with Karl-Heinz Dellwo) on hunger strike.

GABRIELE ROLLNIK ,

BERLIN PLÖTZENSEE



These seven women and two men are
on hunger-strike

since February 1st:
Karl-Heinz Dellwo
Christa Eckes

since March 15th
Brigitte Monhaupt
Heidi Schulz

since March 1st:
Rolf Heissler
Gabi Rollnik

since March 29th
Irmgard Moeller
Ingrid Barabass
Hanna Krabbe

This is the pattern that the hungerstrikers followed, though virtually all of the original strikers rejoined on April/1. On Apr/14 Karl-Heinz Dellwo and Christa Eckes, who had remained on the strike since Feb/1, interrupted their strike after 75 days just before losing consciousness.

In solidarity with the original Hungerstrikers, both political and social prisoners throughout the FRG prison system began their own hungerstrikes to back the demands of RAF/Resistance prisoners and to make their own demands. Some of these strikes were temporary while others have continued. As of April/19, seventy prisoners have participated in this political struggle.

The following is a selection of solidarity actions which documents the increase of the revolutionary resistance against the imperialist system. They show that the Hungerstrike of the RAF, the anti-imperialist resistance and the social prisoners are not isolated, but on the contrary, is getting increasing support, comprehension and solidarity from many of the social movements in the FRG.



On Feb/11/89, 11,000 people, with a large feminist and lesbian contingent, demonstrated for the release of Ingrid Strobl, a feminist, anti-genetic manipulation activist, jailed in Dec 1987 on flimsy evidence linking her to a Rote Zora (Red Zora) bombing. (accused of membership in a terrorist organisation=Rote Zora) So far no one from the Rote Zora has ever been caught. The demonstration was also against Paragraph 129 and 129A in Essen. These laws criminalize and dam up the revolutionary and radical movements and try to prevent any kind of solidarity with militant resistance groups (e.g. RAF, RZ, Automone Zelle Alois Sonnenleitner, Revolutionäre Handwerker Amazonen, Anti-rassistische Zellen, Revolutionäre Viven, etc). Although the demonstration has been planned for months in advance, the demonstrators declared themselves in solidarity with the demands of the hunger strikers on banners, in slogans and speeches.



On March 13, 34 wimmin from the wimmin-prison West-Berlin-Ploetzensee started a three day token- and solidarity hungerstrike to voice the political prisoners demands and also to fight their own prison conditions. The wimmin denounce among other things that they have to work for 30-40 cents a hour and that political p and social prisoners are held seperated.



The slogan on the banner says: Hungerstrike -
 We as family members demands:
 Association of the political
 prisoners in large groups
 Release of all s.k. prisoners

On Mar. 17, 7-8,000 people participated in a powerful demonstration in Hamburg (FRG) which was called by 50 different political organizations in solidarity with the hungerstrike.

On March 22, a small group of people shouting slogans and with banners blockaded the W. German consulate for an hour in Amsterdam.

March 17, the demo was well prepared. People were marching rows with arms linked. In this demo were a wimmin, bloc, arevolutionary bloc, Green Party, some unorganized, a bloc from families of the political prisoners, etcetera. Many people were masked with palestinian scarves because participating in a demo like this can have grave consequences. a family membre of the political prisoners and ex-political prisoners made speeches. Three hour demonstration; great atmosphrere. They shot tracer bullets in the sky, etc. The demo passed several justice buildings and the prison where Loitgard Hornstein is imprisoned and many other targets. In front of the prison a short rally was held with a Palestinian comrade, member of Tayad and a member of the Uruguayan TUPAMAROS (urban guerrilla) The demo ended at the Hafenstrasse (squatted house in Hamburg-St. Pauli, ;ja und der FC St. Pauli hat die coolsten Fans Europas)

Supporters also occupied the main medical building in Hamburg which included the headquarters of the national medical doctors association. After the occupation, the medical association astonishingly declared itself against the "coma-solution" as well as the role which the police authorities have forced on doctors during previous hungerstrikes. Under the "coma-solution", a prisoner entering into unconsciousness from not eating, would be repeatedly brought to and from consciousness by medical manipulation, thereby implementing a new form of torture.

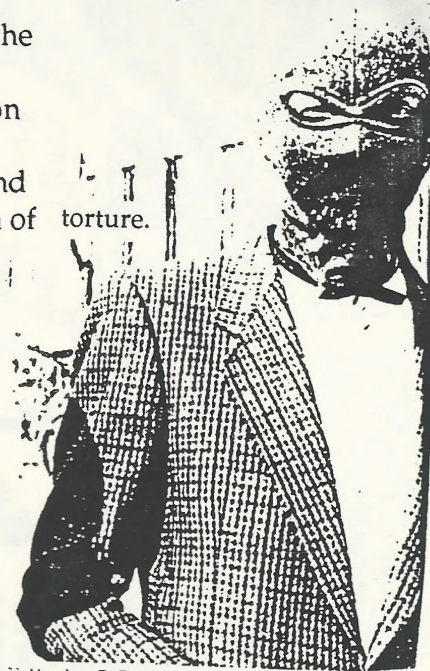
Several churches were occupied around the country as well as the city hall in West Berlin, in order to bring attention to the strike. The Families of Political Prisoners occupied the Department of Justice Building in Dusseldorf.

In the early morning of April/12, 7 masked people stormed into the biggest stock exchange in the FRG, in Frankfurt, throwing molotovs that heavily damaged the computer terminals of the in house system. Unfortunately, three of the seven were busted by the pigs.

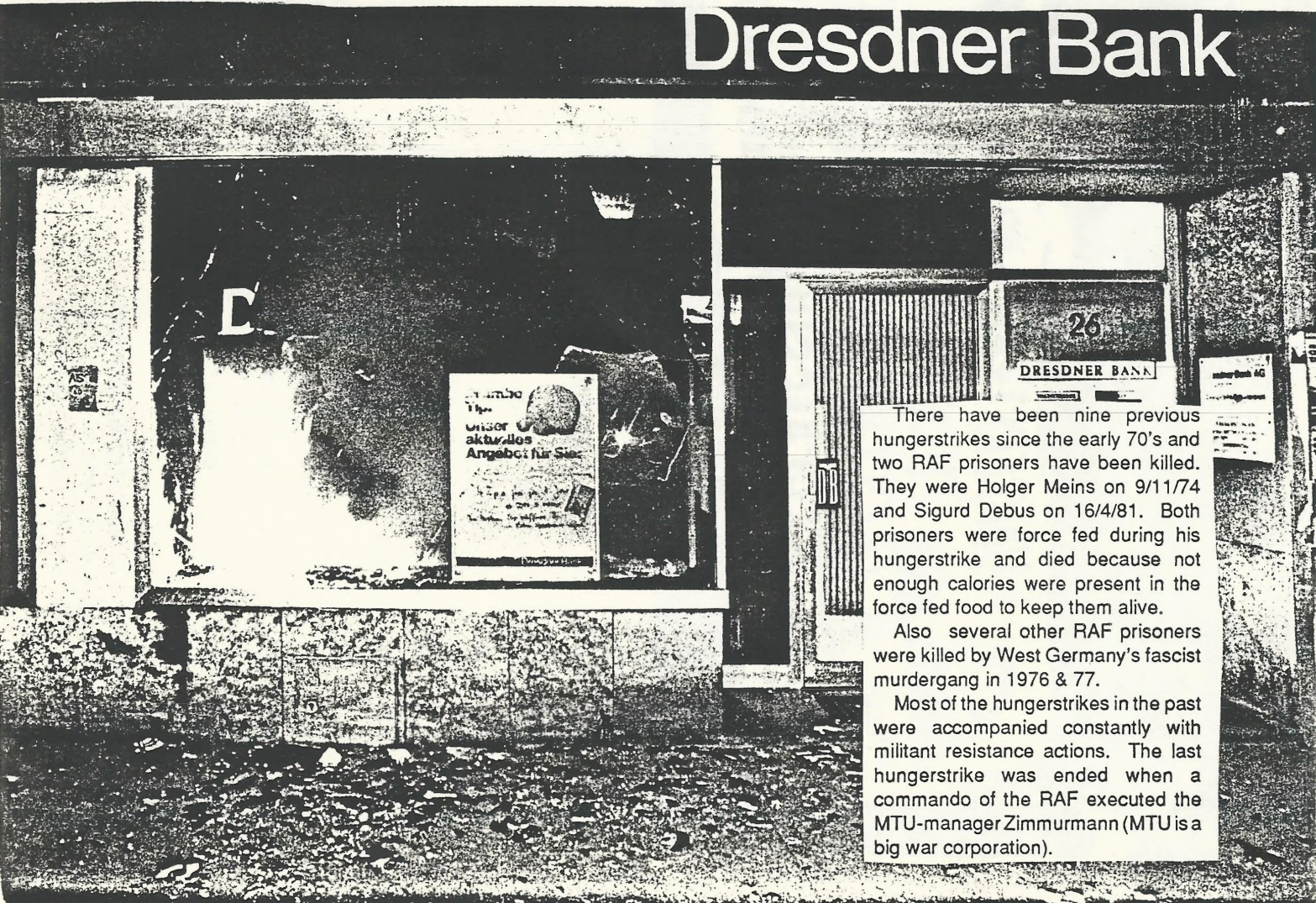
ON the same day also in solidarity with the hungerstrikers some cool people attacked AEG a multi national war corporation, with incendiary bombs, which caused building damage.

The writing expert in the trial against Eva-Haule Frimpong (RAF), Mr. Ockelmann, was doubtlessly surprised when he went out one morning and found his super-expensive car burnt out. Many banks have also been the targets of molotov attacks.

There has been more than fifty demos, including one of 3,500 people in West Berlin. In Hamburg, 8,000 people participated in a demonstration called by 50 different organizations.



Dresdner Bank



There have been nine previous hungerstrikes since the early 70's and two RAF prisoners have been killed. They were Holger Meins on 9/11/74 and Sigurd Debus on 16/4/81. Both prisoners were force fed during his hungerstrike and died because not enough calories were present in the force fed food to keep them alive.

Also several other RAF prisoners were killed by West Germany's fascist murdergang in 1976 & 77.

Most of the hungerstrikes in the past were accompanied constantly with militant resistance actions. The last hungerstrike was ended when a commando of the RAF executed the MTU-manager Zimmurmann (MTU is a big war corporation).

Solidarity

In an unprecedented united action, an estimated 250 political prisoners and prisoners of war in the U.S. joined in a symbolic 24-hour protest/fast on March 15th with political prisoners on hungerstrike in Azania and FRG (West Germany).

Can't Jail the Spirit

Political Prisoners in the U.S.

A Collection of Biographies of Political Prisoners in U.S. Prisons.

Order from: Committee to End the Marion Lockdown: 343 S Dearborn, Suite 1607, Chicago, IL 60604; \$10 + postage.

Issuing a nationwide "call for solidarity" from the D.C. jail, six anti-imperialist political prisoners convicted in the Resistance Conspiracy Case, accused of bombing the U.S. capitol in 1983, declared the reasons for the protest/fast: "Both of these hungerstrikes are unlimited (to the death), and represent the ultimate means of protest for any prisoner. In extending support to the hungerstrikers, the prisoners identify and demand an end to the weapons of political repression that have been employed against activists in the U.S. as well. Preventive detention in its form (grand jury subpoenas, exorbitant or no-bail, frame-up charges) and isolation, exemplified by the Marion and Lexington federal control units, are used with greater frequency in this country under the doctrine of 'anti-terrorism.'

"While the Azania detainees' hungerstrike has received some international attention from the major media, news of the RAF/Resistance hungerstrike has been totally ignored outside of FRG."

ANTI-IMPERIALISM ★ SOCIALISM ★ WOMEN'S & GAY LIBERATION

HUMAN RIGHTS ★ SELF-DETERMINATION



SOCIAL JUSTICE ★ INTERNATIONALISM

NATIONAL LIBERATION ★ PEACE ★ SOLIDARITY ★ ANTI-RACISM

Press Statement

From the attorneys of the political prisoners in the Federal Republic of Germany:

According to our current information, 48 political prisoners from the RAF and the resistance have been on hungerstrike since February 1, 1989. We know for certain that the following prisoners are on hungerstrike:

Gisela Dutzi, Ingrid Barabaß, Helmut Pohl, Christian Klar, Eva Haule, Rico Prauss, Andrea Sievering, Mareile Schmiegner, Sieglinde Hofmann, Karl-Heinz Dellwo, Knut Folkerts, Lutz Taufer, Rolf Clemens Wagner, Brigitte Mohnhaupt, Manuela Happe, Carlos Grosser, Günter Sonnenberg, Gabi Rollnik, Angelika Goder, Rolf Heißler, Claudia Wannersdorfer, Luitgart Hornstein, Ali Jansen, Michael Dietiker, Bernhard Rosenkötter, Christa Eckes, Heidi Schulz, Christian Kluth, Dieter Faber, Hanna Krabbe, Christine Kuby, Irmgard Möller, Ingrid Jakobsmeier, Rolf Hartung, Thomas Killper, Andreas Semisch, Susanne Paschen, Isolde Bohler, Barbel Perau, Norbert Hofmeier, Christoph von Hören, Thomas Thoene.

Other prisoners have also joined the hungerstrike:

Günter Müller, Jens Stuhlmann, Hans Deutzmann, Susanne Schöfs, Dieter Glatz, and three prisoners in Berlin Tegel prison.

With the tenth hungerstrike since the beginning of the 70's, the prisoners are demanding their association together in large groups with access to common yard exercise with other prisoners, immediate release of the prisoners who are unfit for imprisonment, free choice of medical care for all prisoners, and open political information and communication for the prisoners with all groups in society.

With that, the prisoners are carrying forward their 18-year struggle for prison conditions which make survival for them in prison possible. In his statement of February 1, 1989, Helmut Pohl made the situation, the demands, and the determination of the prisoners clear (see attached).

The initial reactions of the state to the hungerstrike were:

- initiation of an investigation of the striking prisoners because of membership in a terrorist association (129a)
- cell raids and physical attacks against several prisoners (for example, in Celle prison)
- criminalization of attorneys as the "wire-pullers" in the "hungerstrike action" (for example, in the Welt am Sonntag, Feb. 2, 1989)
- immediate separation of several prisoners who had been together a few hours a day (for example, in Frankfurt prison)

We support our clients in the demands of their hungerstrike, just as we, out of our knowledge of the prison situation, have for years demanded the abolishment of isolation and the association of the prisoners who demand that together in large groups.

We call upon the responsible federal and local government agencies to stop all sanctions and criminalization in connection with the hungerstrike, to meet the just demands of the prisoners immediately and not, as they have up to now, to jeopardize the lives of the striking prisoners through inactivity, refusal, or "medical solutions."

We do not doubt the determination of our clients to attain for themselves humane conditions now, and that means to put through their demand of association together.

For the attorneys who follow:

Elard Biskamp
Attorney

Attorneys:

Dieter Adler, Renate Trobitzsch, Gerd Klusmeyer (Hannover); Pieter Bakker Schut, Adèle v.d. Plas (Amsterdam); Elard Biskamp, Joachim Bremer, Rainer Koch, Wolfgang Kronauer, Ursula Seifert, Wallraud Verleih, Berthold Fresenius, Ernst Ronte (Frankfurt); Wolfgang Diering, Rainer Felkl, Johannes Pausch, Dorothee Frings, Karl-Heinz Bartsch (Düsseldorf); Ulrike Halm (Gießen); Thomas Herzog, Gottfried Plagemann (Berlin); Heike Krause (Köln); Anke Brenneke-Eggers, Johannes Santen, Christoph Bode, Jan Mohr, Ule Brandt (Hamburg); Peter Tode (Wohide); Wolfgang Schwab (Duisburg); Wolfgang Schmid (Heidelberg); Martin Viergutz (Königsbach-Stein); Regina Schulze, Jens Jansen (Freiburg); Pilar Gallardo Mayo (Madrid)

This banner says:

no trials Freedom
no "dead wings" for all
no prisons prisoners



KEINE PROZESSE
KEINE TRAKTE
KEINE KNÄSTE

Claudia Wannersdorfer - sentenced in 1985 to 8 years after an attack on the "German Research Institute for Aviation & Space Travel"

This attack happened during the ninth hunger strike by political prisoners in support of their struggle to be released from isolation. In carrying out the action Claudia sustained serious injuries and her comrade and friend Jonas Timme was killed. Since her arrest Claudia has been held under the very conditions she acted against: Isolation.

After 2 1/2 years in isolation, the first symptoms of an epileptic condition appeared, and on July 16, 1988, Claudia had a major seizure. She fell down, injured her head and knee, and was found unconscious the next morning when the prison guards opened the door. She has since had several more seizures and has hurt herself in the resulting falls. Because of the danger of these seizures occurring in isolation, her lawyers have applied for association with at least one other political prisoner, but the federal state prosecutor has refused.

Angelika Gooder - a member of the defunct June 2nd movement, arrested in West Berlin in 1978 and sentenced to 13 years behind bars.

Within three years of her arrest she was diagnosed with arthritis in her hip joints and had lost much of the flexibility in her hips. In spite of regular treatments, the disease worsened by the summer of 1984 and she required surgery. Angelika's lawyers applied for access to an operation in a public hospital. After a wait of two years, the application was granted. When Angelika arrived at the hospital she was greeted with hundreds of bulls (German slang for cops) surrounding the hospital, more bulls on floors around the operating room, and more inside the hospital room. All these cops were there for the "surveillance" of one prisoner. Angelika refused to have the operation under these conditions, and it was not until 1988 (another 2 year wait) that the state offered another operation in West Germany without surveillance in the operating room. In the meantime, the conditions of Angelika's detention have changed for the worse. In 1984/85, she was in a group with five other women, then she was moved to a group of three women, and now she is isolated with one other prisoner, Gabriele Radnick. Under these present conditions of isolation it would be impossible for Angelika to convalesce after the operation, and so she has once again refused surgery.

Bernd Rossner - sentenced to two consecutive life terms.

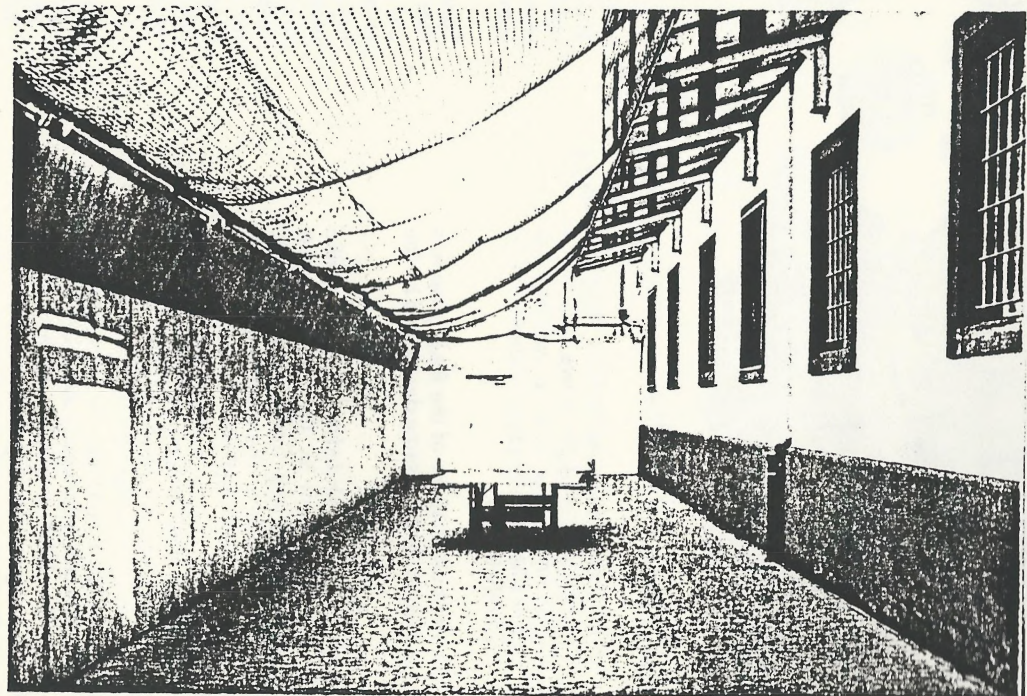
In 1985, he and five comrades of the RAF occupied the FRG embassy in Stockholm (Sweden) to demand the release of 26 RAF political prisoners in exchange for the embassy staff. The embassy was stormed by a special cop commando unit and two RAF members were killed. Bernd has spent 11 years in total isolation, and as a result of this torture he is having great difficulties with concentration and is suffering from severe exhaustion. He is no longer able to read or communicate and for any substantial period of time (this report from Lohr, a student priest who visited him). His condition is so bad that he is not able to

participate in the hunger strike. Irreparable damage to his mental and physical health is a strong possibility unless he is immediately released.

Gunter Sonnenberg, member of the RAF, sentenced to life.

In May, 1977, during his arrest, he was seriously injured by a gunshot wound to the head. As a result, he lost basic knowledge and skills including reading and writing, and large parts of his memory. All of this he has tried to regain under conditions of strict isolation. Another result of his injury was a form of epilepsy, for which he has had to take medication for several years. Not only is this drug addictive, but it also suppresses considerably sensual perception and mental and physical expression and response. Because of these serious side effects Gunter has made repeated attempts to stop the administration of the drug. Without the drug, however, there is danger of renewed epileptic attacks, especially during the detoxification period. Gunter's lawyers have applied several times for him to be re-integrated with other political prisoners but these applications have all been denied. He continues to be held in strict isolation 23 hours a day, the only interruption being one hour of yard exercise with one other political prisoner.

The unanimous opinion of several independent medical experts is that Gunter Sonnenberg should have been freed a long time ago. In isolation the continued dangers of his illness not only cannot be avoided, but will most certainly be aggravated.



Spazierhof im Hochsicherheitstrakt Celle:

prison yard in the high security prison in Celle (FRG)



Sigurd Debus was killed! during the eight hungerstrike

in
1981

Together with the prisoners of the RAF he fought for association in groups. His struggle shows his political identity. Only his knowledge that he was fighting collectively and not as an individual enabled him to fight as consequently he did.

On April 16th the hungerstrike of the RAF prisoners ended. Sigurd Debus died the same day, killed by the authorities.

The prisoners of the RAF ended their hungerstrike after a letter had been sent by the West German Secretary of Justice to Amnesty International, stating that the prison conditions of the political prisoners would be changed if the hungerstrike ended. Sigurd Debus at that time had been in a civilian hospital for over a week, he was unconscious and he was kept alive only by intravenous feeding and oxygen being pumped into his lungs. On Wednesday the 15th his brain stopped working, he was clinically dead and was artificially kept legally alive. On Thursday, the day the RAF prisoners openly stated the end of their hungerstrike, Sigurd was proclaimed dead by the authorities. Sigurd was murdered. He did not die of starvation, he died of massive brain cerebrae (bleeding in the brain) and his death is a direct result of the fact that he was forcefed and of the methods used to forcefeed him. Sigurd was one of the first prisoners to be forcefed and he was forcefed by infusions, ie he was strapped to his bed up to eleven hours a day and fluid was pumped into his veins.

This is a very brutal way of forcefeeding and he describes the results of it in a letter:

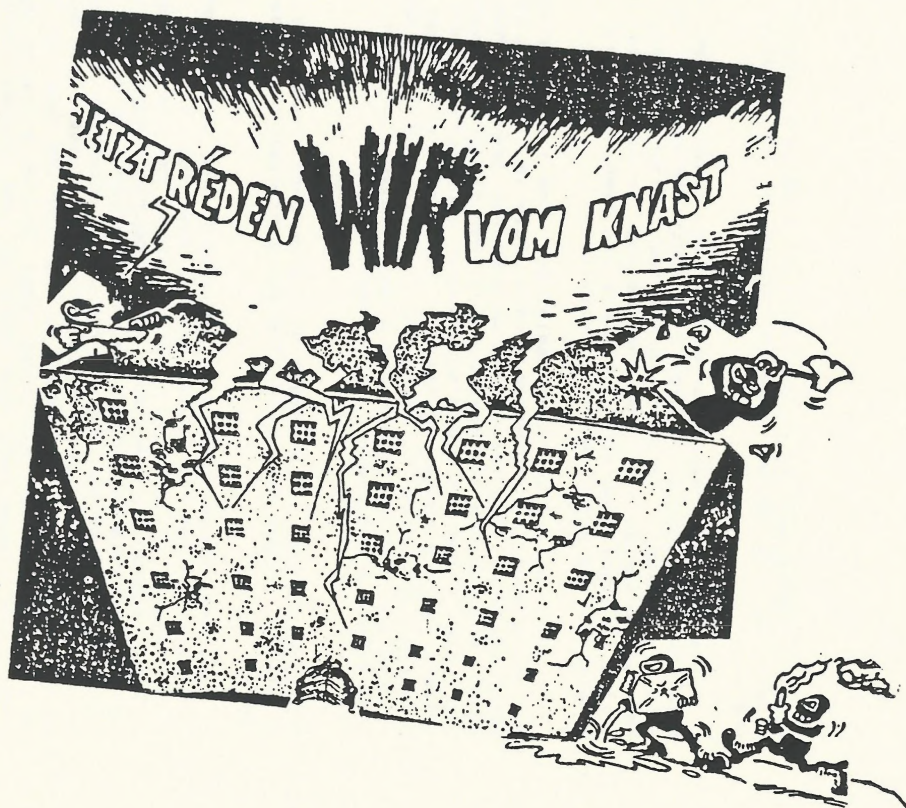
"...after an infusion of carbohydrates, I was not able to sit up for more than five minutes...My heart was going very fast and there was pain in the left side of my chest. I was unable to move quickly, unable to lie on my side, I laid on my back, head slightly raised, feeling sick. Dizziness. I had the feeling that my legs and spine kept turning faster and faster, spiralwise. I lost consciousness at times."

One week before Sigurd was transfered to a civilian hospital, the prison doctor, without having made a

new diagnosis changed the content of the fluid used to forcefeed the comrade by adding fat-emulsion. This and the fact that Sigurd was constantly and very tightly strapped to his bed (thus damaging his circulation) led to drastically high blood pressure and subsequently to his death.

Sigurds death was planned. It was carefully planned that he should die because the most could be made out of his death in the media. Sigurd was not a member of the RAF, but he joined the hungerstrike not, as the authorities would have the public to believe, out of solidarity, but because the demands of the RAF prisoners were also his own. He wanted to be put together with prisoners of RAF as they were his comrades and he was determined not to bear any longer the situation of the so-called 'reform prison' he was in where he could not develop and communicate with anyone of his own history and identity.

So it was not just an act of solidarity but an act of political consciousness and self-determination that made him join the hungerstrike. The authorities let his murder coincide with the ending of the hungerstrike to show the public that the RAF is willing and able to sacrifice the life of someone who was not even a member of their own group for their unreasonable demands, to show that the RAF is determined to 'step over corpses'.



Hungerstrike Declaration

HUNGER STRIKE STATEMENT BY HELMUT POHL
ON BEHALF OF POLITICAL PRISONERS IN W. GERMANY

We are, as of today, on hungerstrike.
We're not letting go anymore; we have to get our association together now.
Everyone who wants to, knows what isolation is; it is understood and defined internationally as torture.
Isolation has become the rule for imprisoned revolutionaries here, whether from the guerilla, the resistance, or foreign comrades; and they are using it against social prisoners who struggle. And it is being increasingly adopted internationally as the clean perfidious method of the fine West German-Europeans.
So isolation must be broken here.
We have been on nine hungerstrikes during which two prisoners have died; many of us have impaired health.
This eighteen-year-long torture must end now.
That is our definitive decision; that is how we will fight.

There is not much more to explain. Our situation and our demand are clear. We have gotten sick meanwhile of talking about isolation and the fact that we want to be together. Those meager words and their repetition have already become a mockery of the reality in the prisons. We will be saying something now and again during the strike, so now just a few main points which it is for us all about.

We will not go on this way any longer.
From the beginning, the goal of isolation was to destroy the prisoners in order to choke out the politics of the RAF. They failed in that because of us - but we won't put up with it any longer. We don't want to put with it any longer; that's how it is. That is our political and existential decision now.
Although we have been able to assert ourselves against their destruction-automat, and we have also won something decisively new for ourselves in this situation, there is a limit for us to which the permanent struggle of individuals and the seriously reduced way of life for an imprisoned political group can go. This limit has now been reached.
It always worked only for a limited time; that can be seen in the hungerstrike cycles over the years. Through them we defended our identity through the struggle and always brought collectivity alive again in the solitude.
Until that which we had fetched for ourselves into the holes through struggle was used up again.
We are not going to just add another strike to that now. That is no longer possible; for us, there is nothing now but the material goal.

We want our association together now, and we want also to close this whole long phase with that - and then we want to go further.
We will no longer agree to a foreseeable reaction of "isolation will be abolished," that is - cosmetic, single, differentiated adaptations with which the FRG state only wants to get the attacks about isolation off its back and to basically change nothing for us. Not again after this long time. That shall be clear from the very beginning. We always used every little change. We were always ready to take steps. But now there is nothing else except association together.

It is a mistake to believe that the ground can be knocked out from under our fight to come together with a new opening which would maybe called "general population." That only means then a new round. There is absolutely nothing possible except association together.

It is also not only the old any longer - the necessity against isolation and the possibility of a counterstructure under these conditions - nothing remains as it has been in this kiln.

mural on the wall of a
squatted house (in Hamburg
Hafenstraße)
"isolation is torture"



Over time, the demand has taken on a more far-reaching materiality for us. We have only been able to make it through these times because of our relationships to each other and their permanent living development; and in that, our interconnectedness has become a part of us like an arm or a leg. Today, no one can take that away from us - no one can turn that back. It is a materiality created through the struggle against destruction - and thusly one can now simply say: it is the dialectical product of their measures. And after these measures have existed for 18 years in all variations and no "normality" was able to be executed with them, they have to swallow the bitter pill that our association together is for them.

It is already a question of more, not only subjectively, but also in respect to the political development. In reality, there has for a long time been a huge gap between our situation, and with that our possibilities, and what the real situation as a whole demands in order to continue to move forward. Even though we don't have our association together yet, the question of a further, more far-reaching perspective for the political prisoners is already developing. It is about us. They are wanting something of us from all sides. For us, it only works together. And without us, it doesn't work. That should have become clear in the many attempts over the years to do things while by-passing us. We want to take part in the whole political discussion now. That is the other side of association together.

New questions have arisen out of a whole series of developments here and internationally. On the whole, a new stage has been reached in the conflict, in which everywhere, on both sides, the goals, the formulation of politics, the formation for the struggle is being taken up anew.

It is also a reflection of the fact that the question of the prisoners is being raised anew from both sides here. The state is bringing pardons, state-conforming groups want amnesty - and the revolutionary resistance is again raising that freedom for the political prisoners must be won.

We also think the time is ripe for this debate. But it will only be moved forward in a process of discussion and practice where revolutionary politics become a new real factor. Our struggle for association together shall now become part of that. Out of many beginnings in the last year, out of the openness and the will which cuts across the various groups in the resistance, we believe a new unity in revolutionary struggle is possible.

The degeneration of the left since the end of the 70's is now showing a reversal already. The struggle in the metropolis can also come into the international struggle as a new factor. And then real new possibilities will also be opened up in the FRG. We hope so.

For us, association together comes first now. Then we want the discussion about the whole situation - and about our freedom. For us, the situation is intensifying practically around us.

Because our goal is, of course, freedom. We don't want to establish a part of a political organization in prison; a counter-structure as prisoners is certainly not our ultimate happiness.

We believe it is possible then to take on our freedom as a realistic goal. There is consensus among us around that point.



In order to see how it should develop further, how that can be made concrete, we have to be together. We have determined association together as a transition.

We are now taking on a new form of collective struggle.

In the last strike, they made a new law with which they wanted to eliminate hungerstrikes as a means for us. The "coma law." That means that the will and the decision-making capacity to keep on struggling should be taken from the ones in a coma in a long drawn-out medical-technical manipulation in the intensive care unit. That means, furthermore, for the struggle as a whole, that they want to bring the critical development and decision onto a narrow timeframe, practically onto the one point where many of us, after two or three months, are simultaneously close to the edge. Then maybe several would die, but then in a short, frontal confrontation - and they would "endure" it - like they said last time. And then, as they see it, it is over. And that would also mean that the means of struggle would be turned against us politically. Because, in this simultaneous culmination for us all, the question of the sense and goal would be thrown back at us. When many are dead, how will the others then want to be together.

We will turn that against them and carry on a long drawn-out struggle.

Each of us is the collective.

We are going to begin together. Then after two weeks, we are going to go over into a chain. All except two will temporarily interrupt the strike; then after two more weeks, the next two will join in again, and then the next two after two more weeks, and further on.

We're not letting go any more until we have association together.

We demand:

Association together of all prisoners from the guerilla and resistance in one or two large groups, in which new prisoners would be integrated, with access to common yard exercise with all prisoners.

Association of all prisoners who are struggling for that.

Release of all prisoners for whom a return to health after sickness, injury, or torture through isolation is impossible under prison conditions.

Release of Gunter Sonnenberg, Claudia Wannersdorfer, Bernd Rossner, Angelika Goder.

Free choice of medical care for all prisoners without staatschutz control.

Open political information and communication for prisoners with all groups in society.

For the prisoners from the RAF
Helmut Pohl
February 1, 1989

The names of the two comrades who have been striking since February 1, 1989, are:

Karl Heinz Dellwo; and Christa Eckes.

Rolf Heissler and Gabriele Rollnik joined the indefinite strike on March 1, 1989.

CALL FOR SOLIDARITY WITH POLITICAL PRISONERS ON HUNGERSTRIKE IN
SOUTH AFRICA AND WEST GERMANY

*** January 23, 1989: 170 South African political prisoners at Diepkloof Prison, members of various anti-apartheid organizations initiate an unlimited hungerstrike against preventive detention. They are joined by over 130 political detainees at prisons in Durban and Port Elizabeth.

*** February 1, 1989: At least 50 West German political prisoners of the anti-imperialist guerrilla organizations Red Army Faction (RAF) and June 2nd Movement, the anti-imperialist resistance, Kurdish nationalist movement, and militant social prisoners begin an unlimited hungerstrike for political association and against isolation torture/sensory deprivation.

These two groupings of political prisoners have taken up the ultimate means of struggle available to the prisoner: hungerstrike to the death. As political prisoners in the U.S., we feel deep bonds of solidarity with these comrades. As anti-imperialists and revolutionaries, our practice has been shaped and influenced by the movements they represent.

Political prisoners and Prisoners of War in this country are familiar with preventive detention and isolation. Preventive detention has taken many forms: exorbitant, multi-million dollar bails, the grand jury subpoena, the 1984 No-Bail law. Solitary confinement has a long history of use against political prisoners here. We need only mention the seven years of Geronimo Pratt's isolation in a strip cell, the Marion and Lexington Control units, as only the most well-known examples.

What distinguishes the South African and West German realities is the scale and intensity of the repression against the political prisoners, commensurate with the severity of their perceived threat to the regimes.



Since the South African government declared its State of Emergency in June, 1986, it has detained over 30,000 people in an effort to stave off the revolutionary mass upheaval of the preceding months. Over 1000 political detainees, many of them children, are still in preventive detention after nearly 3 years. They have never been tried, they face no charges, they don't know when they'll be released. Often their families have no idea what happened to them or where they are. Anti-apartheid organizations have been robbed of leading cadre while the prisoners, families, and community suffer a severe psychological toll. The effect has been compared to the "disappearances" of activists in Latin America. The hungerstrikers have concluded for themselves that they must bring preventive detention to an end as a weapon for the South African regime.

The prisoners of the RAF have been leading the fight against isolation torture internationally for 18 years. They have undertaken 9 hungerstrikes, resulting in 2 deaths and impaired health for many. Facing one of the most serious and sustained guerrilla movements in Europe, the FRG has developed isolation/sensory deprivation as the weapon of choice. It is a bloodless, clean, and effective form of torture. Sensory deprivation torture is exemplified by the "Toten Trakte" ("Dead Wings") of Stammheim/Stuttgart where one prisoner is confined alone in an entire wing that has been otherwise vacated. No contact is permitted with any other prisoners whatsoever. The cells are soundproofed; lights are under the guards' control; exercise is taken alone in outdoor cages; mail is rigorously censored and limited; visits are non-contact and are monitored directly by state security police. RAF prisoner Bernd Rössner has endured 11 years of this form of total isolation.

As a key member of NATO, the FRG has shared its repressive technology with other NATO states and their allies for use against anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist insurgencies. The FRG prison model has been adopted by most of the countries of Western Europe and has made recent appearances in Peru and Guatemala. West German prison experts were



- Break through the isolation by writing the prisoners, and/or by putting them on your group's mailing list. Their addresses:

For more information on court dates, campaigns, activities and issues, contact:

Washington Area Committee for Political Prisoners' Rights
P.O. Box 28191
Washington, D.C. 20038-8191

Consulted and toured Marion penitentiary following the lockdown in 1983. The "small group isolation" model that formed the blueprint for the Lexington control unit for women was conceived in the FRG as a response to the RAF prisoners' hungerstrikes in 1981 and '84-'85 against isolation and for political association in groups.

Imperialist counterinsurgency must be met with internationalist solidarity.

We have already experienced direct, concrete solidarity extended to us by the RAF/resistance prisoners since our incarceration. The determined struggle of these prisoners and the international work of their attorneys and relatives laid the foundation for the successful international campaign that closed the Lexington Control Unit. Amnesty International's rapid response to the Lexington campaign's petitions was due to the fact that the West German prisoners had already established for Amnesty International that "total isolation" and "small group isolation" constituted forms of psychological torture. The prisoners themselves have shared with us their experiences of how to combat the effects of isolation. They are comrades who in fighting for themselves have fought for us, too. Now we fight with them.

While the South African detainees' hungerstrike has received some international attention from the major media, news of the RAF/resistance hungerstrike has been totally ignored outside the FRG. This blockade contributes to an international climate whereby the FRG with the assent of NATO is free to crush the strike by all available means. We remember the 1981 IRA hungerstrike. The state will let the prisoners die as long as they think they can get away with it.

We are calling on the POW's and political prisoners in the U.S. to join us in a one-day fast/protest on March 15, in solidarity with the hungerstrikers in South Africa and the FRG. With them, we demand an end to the use of preventive detention and isolation torture everywhere. While recognizing the symbolic nature of this fast, we hope that this unitary prisoner-to-prisoner solidarity will help in some way to break through the media blockade.

We call upon the organization and individuals that support political prisoners/POW's in this country and internationally, particularly those who have fought with us against Marion, Lexington, and preventive detention, to extend concrete support to the hungerstrikers. Organize demonstrations in front of the South African and West German embassies or consulates; organize mass mailings and mobilize your own constituencies; use all of your available press contacts to publicize the strikes; on March 15 send telegrams or letters of protest to the embassies in support of the hungerstrikers' demands.

This is an emergency. Our actions now can help prevent heroic people from having to die.

¡VENCEREMOS!

Resistance Conspiracy Case Defendants

Alan Berkman
Tim Blunk

Marilyn Buck
Linda Evans

Susan Rosenberg
Laura Whitehorn

Alan Berkman 233-315
Tim Blunk 233-410
Marilyn Buck 233-396
Linda Evans 233-411
Susan Rosenberg 233-412
Laura Whitehorn 220-858

D.C. Jail
1901 D St., S.E.
Washington, D.C. 20003

Emergency Committee to Defend the Human and
Legal Rights of Political Prisoners
(same address as above)

Committee to Fight Repression
P.O. Box 1435
New York, NY 10025

FEUER UND FLAMME

FÜR DIESEN STAAT!

To the Situation of Political Prisoners in West Germany and West Berlin

O. Historical Introduction

We try to give an short survey of the situation of political prisoners, more precisely the prisoners from armed groups, and of the repressive system in West Germany. We think that such an exchange of experiences on the development of the conditions of repression throughout Europe and their assimilation (and on the development of resistance) can be illuminating and helpful for the struggle for liberation, which we can only win together.

West Germany as the predominant economic and political power in Europe is especially advanced in building up her repressive system and her repressive techniques (according to her economic hegemony).

In order to better our understanding of this development and the restrictions with which those experiences can be generalized, however, we have to make another two fundamental historical preliminary remarks:

a) the German workers' movement has hardly any tradition of militant struggle. It is paralyzed by the double trauma to have twice missed the chance of necessary armed uprising in its latest history; in 1933, in view of Hitler's seizure of power, the German workers' movement made war upon itself (the German Communist Party (KPD) vs. the Social Democratic Party (SPD) and vice versa). The KPD waited for signals from Moscow instead of arming itself. Subsequently 100,000 communists were liquidated by the Nazis.

The second chance was missed out by the surviving activists of the workers' movement after the end of WWII in 1945 when the old power and repressive system was not only reinstated under the protection of the Western Allies but simply continued its operation.

The KPD trying to take action against state projects like rearmament was simply prohibited in 1956, its members were arrested for high treason and put in gaol.

The rest of the pacification was done by the SPD, the trade unions and through economic bribery, i.e. the so-called German 'Wirtschaftswunder' (economic miracle).

b) In West Germany and West Berlin as well as in many other countries in the middle of the sixties the youth uncorrupted by fascism breaking out of the prescribed paths.

The youth was motivated by the model of the liberation struggles waged in the three continents (Africa, Asia and Latin America), the US genocide in Vietnam, the need to explain and overcome their parents' Nazi past and the search for their own cultural and personal liberation. Fields of action of the 68 youth and students' movement were the Vietnam War, the university and education system, the manipulation through the mass media (especially the Springer press, e.g. 'Bild', a paper similar to the British 'Sun'), recent Nazi tendencies and the law system. Their means were demonstrations, provocations and militant actions.

The revolt was made up of hundreds of thousands of youth going onto the streets without experiences but filled with revolutionary zeal.

However, in the end the connection with the masses and the workers didn't occur.

The state reacted to this revolt on three different levels:

- repression: demonstrators and other militants were thrown into gaol.
- reforms: especially in the education area some overdue reforms were granted.
- integration: well-paid posts in the education or other state institutions were offered to a great number of leaders of the students' movement. At the same time an amnesty was granted for arrested demonstrators.

Karl-Heinz Roth, former chairperson of the Socialist Students' Association (SDS) in Hamburg said: "The political class opened itself very widely ranging as far as the right in order to integrate and buy from the stream of the revolt what could be bought in any way. And you have to speak of a bribery encompassing nearly the whole social stratum. The socialdemocratic and liberal government was a giant bribery operation towards the left intelligence. And the left intelligence let itself be bribed in that situation considering the consequences of a continued radical course."

1. The RAF Becomes 'Enemy of State No. 1'

In 1970 Andreas Baader sentenced to three years imprisonment for an arson attack on a department store was freed through force by Ulrike Meinhof and others. At this time the group round Ulrike Meinhof and Andreas Baader was one of many groups in the end of the 60's discussing the way forward to revolution and hereby encountering Latin American concepts of urban guerrilla warfare. The day after the break-out the whole of Berlin was posterized with Ulrike Meinhof's photo headed 'Attempted Murder'. All media took part in the public hunting for the 'Enemy of State No. 1'.

A woman later sentenced for the liberation action commented on this at a later point of time:

"Well, the reaction of the state apparatus to Andreas' liberation was extraordinary despite all our information and perceptions of this state. The reaction of the state was of a kind that the enormous search commencing after the liberation suddenly had an intimidating effect even on those who had got down to the question of illegality and armed struggle."

Gone underground the group round Ulrike Meinhof and Andreas Baader worked out the 'Urban Guerrilla Concept' under the name of Red Army Faction. They stressed their link with the liberation struggles in the three continents (Africa, Asia and Latin America) and opposed the corruption of the left with the need for armed struggle, which can, according to their assessment, be only waged from illegality.

Other armed groups like the Berliner 'Movement 2nd June' or the 'Revolutionary Cells' (RZ) active since 1973 or the women guerrilla group 'Red Zora' originated from the RZ, however, stressed the necessity to operate undercover from legality as long as possible so as to intervene into actual struggles in the community, factories, or into other social focal points by means of urban guerrilla.

In May 1972 the RAF took their first offensive against the US Army, against the publisher Springer and against the legal apparatus. One month later the RAF cadres known by name were arrested.

In the case of Andreas Baader, Jan Carl Raspe and Holger Meins the arrest was shown on TV and repeated for days.



2. Gool

The modern prison system is fundamentally based on the principle of isolation. The prisoner is torn out of his or her normal way of life so as to better manipulate him or her in controlled isolation and to sever his or her former field of action at the same time.

The utmost importance concerning political prisoners is placed on the measurements to prevent their influence to the outside and on others, to prevent the spread of the revolutionary virus and to cut off the prisoners from information so as to starve them politically.

In addition to the prison isolation in the cell and the separation from other prisoners special care is placed on visits and correspondence right from the beginning. The tendency is that these contacts are stopped whenever the contact is important politically or emotionally.

(As an example we quote from a decision of Celle Prison on 9/1/80: "Regarding: Interception of a postcard of your wife

(...) The intercepted postcard is not a Christmas greeting as declared. Your wife rather asks exclusively for information on visit contacts with the prisoner (Karl-Heinz Dellwo (a prisoner from the RAF) and facts about the last hunger strike. This fact founds the danger that the correspondence with your wife might have a harmful effect on you. Your reintegration is thereby hampered. A correspondence between you and your wife would be permitted if the contents of the letter were restricted to family matters."

In line with the strategy of 'low intensity warfare' (i.e. Kitsonian methods) the state worked out a special programme outside the prison walls as well so as to oppose the possible spread of the revolutionary virus originating from the armed groups.

Destroying the solidarity. Right from the start it was aimed at undermining potential fields of sympathizers, publicly stigmatizing sympathizers and threatening them with repression (this concerned, besides left groups and individuals, even those who might become sympathizers; in the heydays of repression as in 1972 or 1977 the witch hunting went as far as against middle-class writers such as Heinrich Böll or Luise Rinser).

For this purpose the public media were needed. All West German media without exception played the game every time under the slogan 'OUR State is in danger'.

Through counter-insurgency actions like bomb threats on railway stations, news about the poisoning of drinking water, etc. pursued by the Secrete Service the media constructed an image of 'the terrorist', an 'enemy of the people'. Thus they managed to instil in the population a diffuse fear of terror. A broad participation of the population in tracking down 'terrorists' was achieved.

Repression. In addition to the public hunting leftists who did not distance themselves from the guerrilla were (and are) prosecuted by the law. A special paragraph, the paragraph 129a (membership, propaganda and support of a terrorist association) created the pretext for prosecution and arrest under worse conditions if suspect.

This paragraph was (and is) also used to prosecute newspaper makers, printers and distributors of papers which publish or discuss communiques of armed groups.

(Some recent example are a magazine called 'Radikal', a book containing letters written by RAF prisoners edited by the lawyer Pieter Bakker-Schut, the tour poster of the Basque rock group 'Kortatu' which carried the demand 'No extradition of ETA militants' or the Hamburg magazine 'Sabor' which carried a photo of a banner with the slogan 'Placing Together of Political Prisoners'.)

Another law, the paragraph 88a, valid until 1981 put 'Instruction of Crimes' in general under penalty.

Since the 70's the system of the Federal Criminal Authority (Bundeskriminalamt, BKA) has been enlarged in enormous dimensions, especially the computer-supported collection and transfer of data. (In 1971: 1,820 posts and a budget of DM 54.8 million; in 1981: 3,536 officers and employees with a budget of DM 290 million)

Presenting guerrilla fighters as psychopaths. In the case of the RAF the State Defence Authorities drew one more register from the arsenal of counter-insurgency strategists; they tried forcefully to have Ulrike Meinhof's brain examined, who was presented as the intellectual head of the RAF. She was assumed to have an old brain tumor. This brain tumor for months was sensationalized in the bourgeois press and assumptions were made about her changes of personality and intellectual confusions.

Ulrike
Meinhof,
killed by
the
authorities
in 1976



Ulrike Meinhof was to be made an example of because in eye of the left public she was still highly respected even after her imprisonment. This was due to her earlier activities in the anti-nuclear movement and her critical work as a journalist.

When the results of the US Army research on brainwashing were put into practice in the high-security wings of the prisons for ethnic minorities and other non-adapted groups, Ulrike Meinhof was locked up in a 'Dead Wing' of the men's mental hospital in Cologne for months; the whole wing of the building was emptied so that she was deprived of any environmental stimuli (sounds, light, i.e. sensory deprivation).

"In order to produce a significant change of a person's behavior and attitudes it is necessary to weaken and undermine the connections with old behavior patterns and to prevent their support. Considering the fact that most of the connections are made up of direct personal affirmation of the former behavior and of the attitudes of such people it is often necessary to destroy these emotional ties. This can either be done by physically isolating the individual and preventing any communication with those who s/he cares for; or by making clear to him/her that those s/he respects are not worth it and that s/he should distrust them actively." Edgar H. Schein: Man Against Man. Brainwashing. In: Correctional Psychiatry, No. 8, 1963, pp. 90-97)

In addition to the intended wearing down and psychological destruction the Dead Wing was also an attempt to carry on the systematic examination of the effects total isolation has on the human mind.

The Dead-Wing programme was further used on Astrid Proll, Ronald Augustin, Gudrun Ensslin and Rolf Pohle. (In 1975 Katharina Hammerschmidt died in a Dead Wing due to lack of medical attention.)

The destruction of solidarity and the repression campaigns were partly successful leading to a political isolation of the RAF. However, there was still a left public in the middle of the 70's who fought alongside the lawyers and relatives against the prison conditions of the political prisoners; at least they achieved the movement of some prisoners from the Dead Wing to the Stammheim isolation wing as a group of four being able to visit each other.

Criminalization. The State Defence Authorities tried to criminalize the trusted lawyers chosen by the prisoners themselves, who had been active in such campaigns accusing them of 'Support of a Criminal Association'. That was only successful for some time.

Later a special law was passed, the paragraph 146 StPO (Order of Criminal Procedure) allowing only for one lawyer per trial and accused in connection with armed struggle. After such a trial a lawyer was prohibited to defend another prisoner from a guerrilla group. As a result of this law the number of potential lawyers was drastically reduced.

Prison struggle. The political prisoners themselves tried to change their prison conditions through collective hunger strikes in order to gain the same conditions as other prisoners. The authorities tried to stop the hunger strikes by first withdrawing water; further giving to the public a picture that the political prisoners were so privileged they didn't need a change of their conditions.

In 1974 Holger Meins died on hunger strike. He had to undergo the torture of forced feeding drawing out the length of his dying; at the same time getting only a minimum of calories so that he starved.

For the last time the left and the prison groups were rebelling together and furiously. There were militant demonstrations everywhere, the windows of banks and courts of justice were damaged. In Berlin the Movement 2nd June shot dead von Drenkmann, president of the Supreme Court of Justice, who was responsible for the prison conditions.

Free the guerrilla. The lasting impression of Holger Meins' death and the prison conditions including the Dead Wing all three guerrilla groups active at that time (74/75) were determinedly fighting to withdraw the prisoners from the liquidation interest of the state.

Brigitte Kuhlmann and Wilfried Böse from the Revolutionary Cells cooperating with a Palestinian commando hijacked an Israeli passenger plane to Entebbe/Uganda. Their aim was the release of some political prisoners in Israel and West Germany. The airport was stormed by an Israeli special task force and the hijackers shot dead.

A commando of the RAF occupied the West German embassy in Stockholm by force of arms and explosives. They wanted the release of 26 RAF prisoners. The explosives were detonated - according to commando members - by the Bundesgrenzschutz (Federal Border Defence) through radio ignition; the embassy was stormed. Two commando members died from burnings; one of them, Siegfried Hausner, after transported to West Germany by plane in spite of his perilous condition.

Only an action of the Movement 2nd June was successful. On 27/2/75 members of the 2nd June kidnapped Peter Lorenz, CDU candidate for Lord Mayor in Berlin, and achieved the release of two demonstrators arrested at the Holger-Meins demonstration in Berlin and five members of several armed groups.

By hindsight it was stated that at that time the seed of the distancing campaigns had come up. Among other reasons this might be explained by the fact that the armed groups didn't put forward or take up political aims any more apart from attacks on members and buildings of the legal system.

The Revolutionary Cells were the only exception; due to their structure of independently operating cells they were able to intervene into and push forward social struggles by methods of armed struggle or by sabotage. In the middle of the 70's this took place on a relatively low level; e.g. they reprinted tube and bus tickets and spread them among the population in support of a campaign against price rises. Later, in the end of the 70's and in the 80's this strategic difference to the RAF became clearer with the RZ militantly intervening in the anti-nuclear movement, the movement against the Frankfurt runway West or the campaign against imperialist refugee policy.

On the other hand the hijacking of a passenger plane was not in accordance with revolutionary criteria because it endangered the lives of people not involved. This contributed to a severe loss of sympathy for the guerrilla.

Karl-Heinz Roth said: "I think the people, the exploited classes are watching this point much more sensitively as the revolutionary avantgardes might believe or perceive it. I also think that the population turns away from revolutionary alternatives at the very moment when they don't see the most fundamental distinctive mark any more. And that is, and that's what I meant earlier on by the moral quality of the revolutionary struggle, that is the worth of life."

3. The Trial at Stammheim

In 1975, three years after their arrest, the trial against four prisoners presented as the heads of the RAF started at Stuttgart-Stammheim in a bomb-proof court bunker built especially for this purpose. In the course of this two-year trial Justice and State Defence Authorities once again showed the whole of their arsenal.

First, the trusted lawyers chosen by the prisoners themselves were excluded from defence using the newly created law paragraph 146 StPO (see part 1). At the same time state-chosen lawyers were attributed to the prisoners against their will. It was regulated by other newly created laws that the trial could be led without the prisoners or the trusted lawyers being present.



Holger Meins, killed by the authorities in 1974

In connection with so-called bugging affairs - e.g. the then critical manager of a nuclear company Klaus Traube was bugged - it was leaked that talks between accused and advocates in the Stammheim goal were bugged. The presiding judge systematically tried to prevent all political declarations and arguments. Only at the end of the trial it was leaked that he regularly conferred with the editor-in-chief of the Springer paper "Die Welt".

All prisoners were sentenced to life-long imprisonment following the invented theory that each member of the group were responsible for every action even if the actual participation couldn't be proved.

At the start of the trial experts appointed by the court stated that the capability of the defendants to follow the trial was reduced through the prison conditions. Based on this experience the court psychiatrist Prof. Rasch developed a proposal to place together the prisoners at least in bigger groups capable of interaction comprising 15 to 20 members so as to prevent the worst effects of isolation.

However, since the prison conditions didn't change the RAF prisoners took up the court medical's demand. For the first time in 1977 they no longer demanded conditions equal to all the other prisoners but the free associating ("Zusammenlegung") in groups capable of interaction and additionally a treatment according to the minimal guarantees of the Geneva Convention for POWs. The reason for this was that they saw themselves as part of the world-wide anti-imperialist liberation movements. During the trial one of their lawyers, Klaus Croissant, claimed that violent attacks against the US institutions in West Germany were justified by International Law since the US were waging a brutal war against Vietnam and thus breaking International Law. This motion was turned down by the court.

The demand for applying the Geneva Convention for POWs, however, was criticized by parts of the left for being based on laws made by bourgeois states and for being elitist, i.e. not regarding the struggle of 'social' prisoners. The prisoners from other guerrilla groups, i.e. the Movement 2nd June and the Revolutionary Cells, held on to the demand for equality with all the other prisoners. Once placed under conditions of 'normal imprisonment' they hoped to struggle together with 'social prisoners' against the prison system.

Later, in the 80's the demand for 'normal imprisonment' was dropped by nearly all political prisoners since the prison system itself had changed leaving 'normal imprisonment' as a highly differentiated system in which different groups of prisoners are 'treated' according to their conformity; the high-security wings are now used for all 'unadapted', i.e. fighting prisoners. Today only the free association with each other remains a realistic alternative. In the 70's, however, the prison movement was split on that point.

4. Autumn '77

In 1977 the last attempt to free the RAF prisoners was met by the firm resolution of the then SPD/FDP government not to release any prisoners. The government played for time and first put the parliament out of action. An emergency committee composed of delegates from all parties and the BKA (Federal Criminal Authority) was founded to rule West Germany.

Chancellor Helmut Schmidt asked its members to articulate freely whatever idea or wish came into their minds regarding the kidnapping of the employers' president Schleyer. The proposals first documented by 'Der Spiegel' in Sept. '87 ranged from 'shooting a prisoner every hour' to 'pretending to fly them to Africa and arrest them immediately'.



Gudrun Ensslin with Andreas Baader

The media were demanded to do what they were told by the emergency committee; this was accepted without contradiction. They only issued officially authorized news regarding the complex RAF and Schleyer. Therefore a widespread opinion was produced that 'OUR State was under threat'. The atmosphere of those days can hardly be described in words. There was a feeling of living in a fascist state tolerating no contradictions and justifying its own actions solely by 'reasons of state'.

All political prisoners were subject to a total ban on any contacts during the period of the kidnapping also including no contacts with their lawyers, no possession of radios, newspapers, etc. When individual judges tried to lift the regulations made by the State Defence a corresponding law on the ban on contacts legalizing this isolation was passed in a period of 11 days.

On the 17th of October 1977 a unit of the BGS (Federal Border Defence), the so-called GSG 9 (similar to the British SAS), stormed the hijacked plane in Mogadishu, freed the passengers and shot dead the hijackers. The members of the special unit were celebrated as 'Heroes of the Nation', the GSG 9 gained worldwide fame and later trained similar anti-terror units in other countries.

The morning after the Stammheim prisoners, Andreas Baader and Jan-Carl Raspe were found shot dead in their cells and Gudrun Ensslin hanged. The politicians of the emergency committee hoped that the problem of the RAF was finally solved.

The West German press didn't put forward any doubts regarding the state version of the prisoners' suicides even before any results of the post-mortem examination were issued. The post-mortem examination and the investigations were made so sloppily in parts that some traces just disappeared in the course of the examination. There were such absurdities in the official statements suggesting the conclusion - not regarding the political motivation - that the prisoners were killed in an operation of the Secret Service. However, ten years past both versions can't be verified conclusively though the suicide version is highly unlikely.

October, 18th 1977

Andreas Baader
Gudrun Ensslin
Jan Raspe
Ingrid Schubert
in Stammheim
executed by the
fascistic
murder pigs
e.g. in Bonn (capital of FRG)
Schmidt, (former SPD
federal Chancellor of FRG)
Genscher, (Foreign Secretary)
Vogel, (chairperson of the SPD)
Rebmann, (state prosecutor)

Solidarity means fighting
Solidarity with
the RAF



murder in the Hafenstraße
(squatted houses
in Hamburg)

wandbild-hafenstraße
zum 18.10.87-zum jahrestag der ermordung
der stammheimer gefangenen

After the autumn of '77 high-security wings resembling the Stammheim model were built for the prisoners from the RAF and the Movement 2nd June in Celle, Lüneburg and Berlin-Moabit. In Berlin in 1980 when the new wing was going to be used a broad and partly militant resistance raised against this 'mausoleum with the comfort of a tube station at 4.30 a.m.', said Prof. Rasch.

Unnoticed by the broad public high-security wings - all called by different names - were built in nearly all gaols for other groups of prisoners. The prisoners concerned were and still are drug addicts going to be reeducated and prisoners not yet accepting the prison regime who either attempted to break out or to rebel in gaol. The high-security wing experimented with using prisoners from the guerrilla, unaware to the public became a normal element of the modern prison system characterized by highly differentiated penalty methods adapted to different groups of prisoners. Those who comply are allowed to rise on the ladder up to 'Open Prisons' consisting of work outside the prison and sleeping in gaol. The others are locked up in their cells, the rebellious prisoners in the high-security wings.

Therefore the high-security wing is a necessary condition for the functioning of the differentiated reform penalty system. A further condition is the splitting up of the prisoners in small groups easy to supervise by psychologists and social workers.

The modern gaol - e.g. the new women prison in Berlin-Plötzensee mainly used for drug prisoners - exclusively consists of closed units with 10 to 15 prisoners. Each of them is awarded different privileges according to their charges and conduct. In Berlin-Plötzensee the women prisoners went on hunger strike for four weeks in September '87 against this type of a psychologically refined penalty system.

Though the interests of political and 'social' prisoners coincide with the question of the high-security wings only the prisoners from the Movement 2nd June managed to wage a joint struggle with 'social' prisoners. In Berlin-Moabit they helped to organize hunger strikes in '79, '80 and '81 demanding the opening of the cell doors over the days and free communication. In Bielefeld Klaus Viehmann in a common struggle with 'social' prisoners achieved the temporary closure of the high-security wing and their transferal to 'normal' wings in other prisons.

The prisoners from the RAF still demanded their placing together in bigger groups. Since '84 most prisoners from the resistance have followed this demand.

On the 1st of February 1989 the 10th hungerstrike of prisoners from the RAF commenced. In the following we give a short survey of the precedent nine hunger strikes:

17/1 - 16/2/1973: 40 political prisoners went on the first organized hunger strike to protest against special treatment and isolation. From 9/2 to 13/2 Andreas Baader was deprived of drinking water.

8/5 - 29/6/1973: 80 political prisoners went on the second hunger strike to achieve equal conditions like other prisoners and free political information. For the first time force feeding was applied. After Carmen Rolfs and Siegfried Hausner's isolation had been lifted the hunger strike was broken off.

13/9/1974: the third hunger strike of 40 prisoners started. On 9/11/1974 Holger Meins died after 50 days on hunger strike in the Wittlich prison. The day before the artificial feeding had been interrupted and the medical in charge had gone on holidays for the weekend. Several hours before his death Holger Meins' lawyers had demanded from the judge in charge to transfer Holger Meins to a hospital, which had been refused. On 17/12/1974 the hunger strikers dropped their demand for equality with all the other prisoners and demanded the free association of all political prisoners in a single prison and the lifting of the isolation. On 5/2/1975 the hunger strike was broken off after 145 days. As a result the RAF prisoners were allowed to meet each other for one hour every day and to have a common recreational hour.

29/3 - 30/4/1977: the fourth hunger strike of about 50 prisoners started. On 8/4 the Stammheim accused went on a thirst strike, which was joined by 36 prisoners in several prisons. After the prison medicals' refusal to execute further forced feedings the ministry of justice told the prisoners in a binding document that a certain concentration of prisoners were going to be implemented in Stammheim prison. Following this the hunger strikers terminated their protest. The ministry's promise was partly fulfilled in June but revoked in August.

8/8/1977: a 'raiding squad' attacked the isolated political prisoners in Stammheim. The fifth hunger strike started, which was interrupted on 2/9 because, according to the hunger strikers, no movement were possible; and after the federal prosecutor Buback and the banker Ponto had been shot dead it were to be feared that they were to be made an example of.

March/April 1978: the sixth hungerstrike against individual and mini group isolation took place.

20/4 - 26/6/1979: between 47 and over 70 prisoners took part in the seventh hunger strike, which ended without results.

2/2 - 16/4/1981: over 100 political prisoners took part in the eighth hunger strike, for the first time prisoners from the 'anti-imperialist resistance' as well. They demanded to be able to freely associate under conditions capable of interaction and the release of Günter Sonnenberg. After the Home Secretary promised that no prisoner were to remain in solitary isolation the strike was broken off on 16/4. On the same day Sigrud Debus forced since 16/3 died under dubious circumstances after several days of unconsciousness. His lawyer wrote that the force feeding had effected his death. The promises were not held by the federal government.

4/12/1984 - 1/2/1985: 40 political prisoners took part in the ninth hungerstrike. They demanded an improvement of their prison conditions. For several reasons a number of prisoners didn't follow the strike. Several people were in a serious condition under the risk of their lives. Knut Folkerts and Lutz Tauber had to be transferred to the intensive care ward of the university hospital in Hannover.



← High-security-prison
in West-Berlin - Plötzensee

6. The Present Situation

At present the following members from guerrilla or resistance groups are imprisoned:

three prisoners from the Movement 2nd June (Ralf Reinders and Ronald Fritsch in Berlin-Moabit, Klaus Viehmann in Bielefeld); the two prisoners from the Revolutionary Cells have been released;

In December '87 two women, Ingrid Strobl and Ulla Penselin were imprisoned for allegations of being members of the Revolutionary Cells resp. the Red Zora. While Ulla Penselin was released in September '88 - the only piece of proof was an alleged conspiratorial meeting preparing incendiary attacks on stores of the Adler textile company, which turned out to be an editorial meeting of a magazine critical towards genetic technology - Ingrid Strobl is still in gaol. She is accused of having bought an alarm clock that had been marked by the BKA. The same alarm clock is supposed to have been used in a bomb attack against the Lufthansa administration department in Cologne in '86 in protest against Lufthansa's involvement in deporting refugees and sex tourism. Since Ingrid Strobl claims to have given this alarm clock to an acquaintance whom she is not willing to name for reasons of not exposing anybody to the brutal machinery of repression she is imprisoned in order to force a statement from her. Her trial started on the 14th of February 1989.

So far no activists from the Red Zora were caught;

from the movement against the Frankfurt Runway 18 West two activists (Andreas Eichler and Frank Hoffmann) are in gaol for allegedly having shot dead two policemen during a demonstration on the 2nd of November 1987; another two Frankfurt activists (Rainer Hübner and Andreas Semisch) allegedly for acts of sabotage against the nuclear industry like e.g. the sawing down of electricity pylons. The trial against those four and five other activists started on the 23rd of February 1989;

more than 30 prisoners from anti-imperialist or autonomous resistance groups under the theory invented by the State Prosecution (BAW) of being members or supporting the RAF; this includes cases like the one of Uli Winterhalter who was arrested in September '88 for possession of a narcotic drug; the BAW claims that the same drug was used by the French Action Directe though it is regularly sent to Palestine by medical aid organisations;

more than 40 prisoners from the RAF; about 10 prisoners who do no longer belong to the collective of the RAF prisoners, either being excluded by the collective or having distanced themselves;

all in all about 100 prisoners on political charges.

For all the prisoners from the Movement 2nd June who are not part of the collective any more supporting the concept of urban guerrilla there are - though partly only after many years - fairly 'normal' prison conditions including the possibility to meet other prisoners. Some of them are in 'Open Prisons', for others there are still special restrictions and controls in 'Normal Prisons' - depending on their supposed dangerousness, i.e. how close they still are ideologically to the concept of urban guerrilla or how prepared they are to cooperate with the prison authorities.

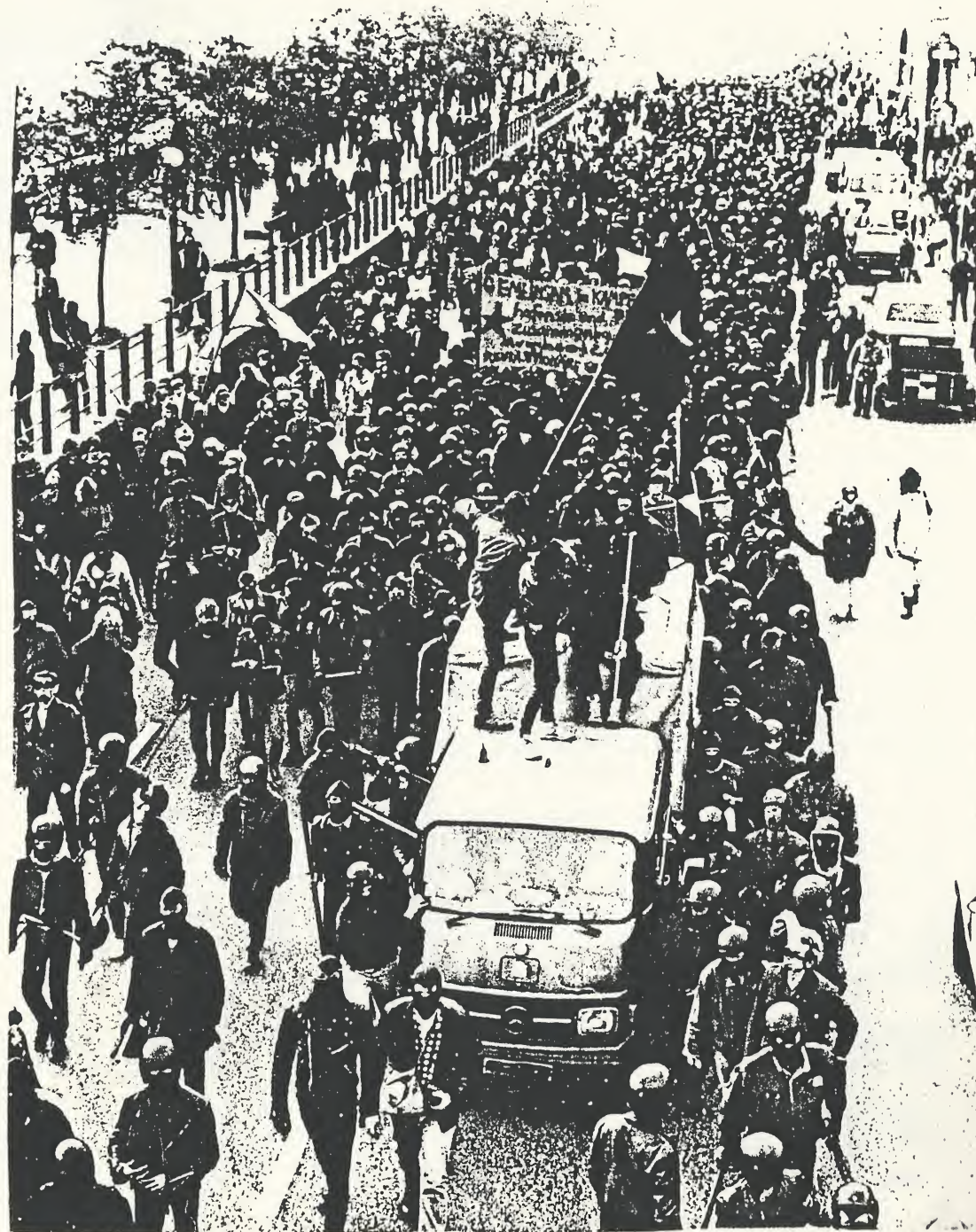
Amongst the rest of the prisoners there are only three mini groups of three prisoners each in Celle and Lüneburg and two in Berlin-Plötzensee. All the others are in solitary confinement; even if several prisoners are in the same gaol they are not allowed to meet.

Instead of this they are offered to have a joint walk in the prison yard with individual prisoners selected by the prison authorities (in some cases those other prisoners were racists or neofascists); partly with all prisoners of a single wing. All the prisoners from the RAF refuse these offers and insist on first being able to meet other political prisoners from the same prison. Several prisoners from the RAF do not do any walk in the prison yard any more for this reason.

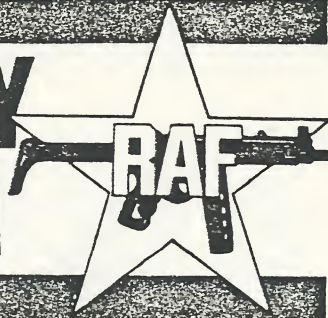
The prison conditions for all prisoners have got worse exceeding the degree known so far: the receiving of printed matters was rendered even more difficult; the censorship of correspondence regarding political information or discussion was made stricter; e.g. a letter was intercepted supporting the demand for an urgent operation of Angelika Goder, a prisoner from the RAF, without control by the police sitting beside the hospital bed.

Lawyer Thomas Herzog commented that the general aim of the treatment of political prisoners is "to intensify the isolation of the prisoners from each other and from the outside, to cut them off from their political contacts and from the development outside the prison, not to let any of their political ideas and thoughts, their struggle, their life pass through the prison walls and not to let them notice any trace of effect their political activities have."

31. Oktober, Demo in Hamburg
1987



RED ARMY FRACTION



Siemens' Chairman Assassinated

ATTACK THE CURRENT STRATEGIC PROJECTS OF THE POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, AND MILITARY FORMATION OF THE IMPERIALIST SYSTEM IN WEST EUROPE!

Today, with the commando Mara Cagol(1), we attacked the board of directors of research and technology of Siemens, the chairman of the "Atomic Energy Board" in the BDI(2), Karl Heinz Beckurts.

Beckurts represents precisely the course of international capital in the current phase of the political, economic and military strategy of the imperialist total-system, and drives it forward. By the 70's, he was already in the forefront of the strategic orientation of capital: he was head of the atomic research centre at a time when the bourgeoisie—then, with the SPD(3) in power—was realizing its atomic program as a means of war in the world market against the young national states, against their demand for a new economic order, to take away their control of the price of oil and the political power they had as the then most important suppliers of oil. The forcing of the economic program in the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) and its export to the Third World—despite all contradictions and struggles here—was central to raising the economic potential of the FRG and thereby its political power in the world system.

The restructuring for imperialist war is being concretized today in the metropole on the side of capital by the radical upheaval of social production through the research, development and production of high technology, whose goal is to bring about the maximization of profit and the absolute increase in productivity, in order to stabilize its structure and economic basis in the centres, and to secure its position in the world market. The monopoly of technology is the strategic lever to raise profits for the international military-industrial complex (MIC)—which has become the political-economic basis of the metropolises—to cement and sharpen the dependency of Third World countries, and to achieve military superiority over the socialist states.

Siemens is the largest high-tech concern in Western Europe, and—as KWU (4)—the third largest atomic concern worldwide. Hardly any other company in the FRG stands so much for concentrated power and aggression of the most reactionary fractions of the bourgeoisie organized in the MIC.

Within Siemens, Beckurts is a central figure: he directs the research and technical shift in the areas strategic for the restructuring, in which Siemens concentrates:

- military electronics, to make war for international capital winnable;
- computerized communications, information, and production systems for factories, offices, work at home, universities and schools—from human thought and manual labour to the pure function of machinery and emptied of any sense—tending towards complete elimination;
- perfected control and surveillance systems for the military and police apparatuses worldwide: Siemens computers from Wiesbaden, via Lisbon, to Guatemala, Honduras, Cairo to Johannesburg.

The history of Siemens is that of the continuity of Germany's fascism and imperialism, the FRG.

Siemens helped to push Hitler into

power—as they said in 1930: as a "bulwark against communism"—and built factories next to concentration camps here, in Poland, Czechoslovakia...; after '45, Siemens again rose quickly to the top among concerns in Europe—now with financial, technological and political support from the USA—and became a central pillar of power of the FRG, which is its economic potential.

Today, Siemens belongs to the largest transnational concerns worldwide, and is responsible for the exploitation, destruction, and emiseration of millions of people in the Third World and the metropolises.

At the beginning of the 70's, when the defeat of US imperialism in Vietnam loomed and international capital met its limits politically with the offensive of liberation struggles, it concentrated its expansion on the most developed countries of the Third World, to realize huge profits from cheap labour and raw materials and to open new markets; these state-supported investments of conglomerates and banks, in the context of an "international division of labour", were to form the economic basis for the political and economic stabilization of these states and regions according to a social-democratic model—imperialist hegemony strengthened against the liberation movements, the grip on raw materials secured.

In the framework of this strategy, Siemens expanded in all continents, above all in Latin America—among others, KWU settled contracts in 1975 with Brazil for the construction of eight atomic reactors; Siemens produced civilian control technology for puppet regimes—while in the FRG between 1970 and 77, over 350 DM (5) in social spending was saved through rationalization and Grohnde, Brokdorf, Biblis (6)... were built.

When Siemens, with financial support of

the SPD government, wanted to build a dam in Mozambique for the racist regime in South Africa—and thereby destroy essential living conditions in an entire region—FRELIMO wrote to Brandt: it is time that the German mark lost its taste for blood and suffering.

But what has developed has been the exact opposite.

Not political stability, industrialization, economic growth and new markets in the Third World came forth, but rather massive misery, the deepening of social and political contradictions, de-industrialization and debt crisis.

100 years of imperialist barbarism destroyed the ground for this attempt, and the people rose up against this new round of exploitation and oppression.

That—in combination with deepening cyclical economic crises in ever shortening intervals, the fall-off of industrial production and mass unemployment in the centres, crises of the international finance system—has led to the deepest erosion of the capitalist system.

The wreck of the regime of international economic relations is irreversible, and the political thought that the rule of capital means the maximization of emiseration and exploitation of human beings, because it is oriented exclusively towards expansion and profit—has become today, in all confrontations, an antagonism against the imperialist system.

The situation is: that international capital under the leadership of the USA is confronted with a development resulting from its attempt at strategic reconstruction of imperialist power at all levels, in which its inability to stabilize the political and economic situation in all regions of the world is evident.

Under the pressure of the exploding social situation in the Third World and growing political contradictions resulting from this, the revolutionary struggles worldwide, the breakdown of the world market system and spiraling economic crisis without prospect of solution, and the fact that it has not achieved the military superiority necessary for an attack on the international power relations on all fronts, the chain of imperialist states is in fact still able to block revolutionary breakthroughs and self-determined developments in a destructive economic and military war, but it can no longer do away with the causes of the contradictions that are exploding worldwide against the capitalist system—above all, politically against the USA and its pack of hounds, the massive misery and death produced by them—and it has irreversibly lost the political power to extinguish in the hearts and minds of people the knowledge that the break with the system and the struggle for liberation are the single perspective for life without exploitation and oppression.

The substantial crisis of the system is

spreading faster than they can control it. Massive emiseration and revolutionary struggles have sharpened themselves faster than they have come through with their world domination plans.

It is from this escalated situation that one must understand the aggression the bourgeoisie is using to restructure society in the metropolises, and the pressure to come together to fight the contradictions that threaten their common interests and their power in total, despite growing competition and diverging political and economic interests. It is the external cause of the polarizing process in the metropolises, which is sharpening against their restructuring offensive and war politics.

Their drive to form a total-system results from the simple fact that in the crisis of the system, no imperialist power can surmount the political and economic problems, that endanger their very existence, by itself. Internationally, the development from the dialectic of class struggle and the swelling of misery, the contradictions against genocide, hunger and the destruction of human substance in the imperialist reality of life has come to a point where the strongest imperialist power—the USA—increasingly is losing its political and economic hegemony. International capital and the chain of imperialist states must direct their entire efforts toward pulling together all economic, technological and military potentials, and uniting the competing fractions of the bourgeoisie in a common strategy to attempt to stop the development which will cost the system the power for—the very possibility of—world domination.

The restructuring and formation for imperialist war in Western Europe is being driven forward today along two necessary lines, which outline the contradictory, yet in essence unified, course of capital and the (West European) states. The first—determining strategy—is the strengthened military, political and economic cooperation and dovetailing of the West European nuclear states—FRG, France, Great Britain, Italy—with the USA (and Japan)—as in SDI (Strategic Defense Initiative—"Star Wars") for which Beckurts took part in secret negotiations for Siemens. Through this—and oriented toward the US's military strategy—the structuring of the international MIC's, the strategic re-organization of research and production to achieve a tech-

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Technological Restructuring Resisted

From page 8

nological monopoly, is being forced to take place, and with it a new attempt to militarily force the socialist states to their knees. SDI is equally the attempt of US capital, with millions of dollars from the Pentagon and the cooperation of West European high-tech concerns, to improve its relatively weakened position on the world markets with respect to Japan and Western Europe, as well as signifying for capital in Western Europe its participation in military high-technology and the opening up of US markets.

The second line—as in Eureka (7), which in its function for the military strategy of the total-system, is identical with SDI and in which all European states are integrated. Through Eureka, a leap in the process of concentration and the cooperation of West European concerns is being realized, to raise their competitiveness on the world market and to better their commercial success through the creation of a "European market" (which among other things means: Siemens is building new factories and producing in Portugal with state support, and pays workers there ¼ the wages as here in the FRG). It is the bundling of all resources of West European concerns and states in order to strengthen the economic power of Western Europe in the world system and to secure economic and military conditions for their restructuring in the metropole. Ideologically, it's an attempt to cover the aggressive politics of the state apparatus, concerns and military in Western Europe with a "civilian-European" mantle—thereby to head off the contradictions and convince people here that through this "technological revolution"—which like all technical developments under capitalism is conceptualized as a weapon against the international proletariat—all social prob-

lems—labour, ecology, economic growth, war—can be resolved.

It is nothing other than the attempt to make a technological leap out of the political agony of the system.

For people in Western Europe, the course of international capital means the uniform intensification of exploitation, emiseration and oppression: the controlled exclusion of millions of peoples from production and from the society at all; war politics and the

destruction of the basis of life; the repressive pacification strategies and the fascist oppression of the resistance that stands against their plans. This is the daily reality in the West European metropole, and for its total transformation, there can only be one strategy: that of the revolutionary armed struggle and the construction of the politico-military front in Western Europe.

What was achieved under Nazi-fascism through bloody terror against the organized workers' movement and the people is to be realized today in Western Europe (differentiated in the measures to be taken, according to the specific political and social conditions in every country, but according to the fundamentally identical lines and determinations of international capital) through the "information-society":

The goal of the bourgeoisie in Western Europe is the structuring, domination and orientation of all processes of socialization and all social areas for the interests of profit and of imperialist war.

The force to aggressively accomplish the restructuring thrusts itself in front of the political mediators: democracy, welfare state, inner peace, work for all—the central ideological pillars of their rule in the metropole—are becoming dysfunctional in

the substantial crisis of the system. Against all contradictions, the imperialist state must complete the political, economic and military preparations for the strategic plan of the bourgeoisie, with which they wish to achieve world domination.

That is the outfitting of the army as a technologically highly developed attack army; the nuclear reactor reconstruction project in Wackersdorf (8) which the FRG wants for its leap forward as a nuclear power—and the terror against those who are combating them; that is the attacks on the right to strike, the calculated mass unemployment and the programs against those who are shut out, all of which are purely an instrument of control and repression, to preventatively crush the antagonisms;

The goal of the bourgeoisie in Western Europe is the structuring, domination and orientation of all processes of socialization and all social areas for the interests of profit and imperialist war.

what Henry Ford said upon introducing the assembly line: "It is completely unthinkable that the people should be permitted to have what they want more than merely temporarily"—is now extended to all areas of socialized production, to all social relations. Individualization of the working conditions and wages, mobility and flexibility in labour and education, and the reactionary pact between state-capital-unions, are the material basis for securing the reconstruction in the metropole and making impossible for people the idea of a common fate or of organizing for their interests and needs; that is the structuring of surrounding institutions—science, universities and schools—to make them direct agents of the concerns; that is the campaigns of psychological war and staatschutz-terror (9) against the resistance to coerce, if not agreement, then powerless silence in the face of the total state.

The growing antagonisms are to be made unorganizable, and in a vicious circle more individualized, the logic of capital's functional interests will be smothered.

Here in the FRG, they calculate that they can rush through the restructuring for imperialist aggression because the politics of the unions are social-democratic, their leadership is bought off, the broad resistance movement is often still diffuse, petty-bourgeois, unorganized, and the revolutionary forces are still weak. When the CDU/FDP/SDP (10) speak about "½ of the society" or "reconciliation society" here and want to counterpose this, in the European framework, to the growing antagonisms, it is their weak attempt to depoliticize the fact that the cleft between society and state, in the whole phase of imperialist reconstruction and their aggression on all political-economic-military levels, has deepened so much that they can no longer fill it in. It is an expression of the political fragility of the capitalist system, which in its crisis has lost the capability to provide a structure of goods that is universally valid. Their fascist conception against this is to split the society—into one part, which serves the machines, profits from war economy and fascism, others who make themselves blind and submissive to power from the pressure of insecurity of survival; and another part, against who they are perfecting their staatschutz apparatus, developing it in graduations for all aspects of life and using it—these are the ones who for profit-production have become superfluous, rejected everywhere, and those who for the state are no longer within reach, because they fight.

Against their plan to hold fast the relations of power here and internationally, there stands the deepening of the process of polarization throughout metropolitan society against the state; the politicization of the resistance, which already proceeds from its experiences in the confrontation with the ruling apparatus and reformist cul-de-sacs; and the development of the revolutionary front, which acts out of the ripeness of the contradictions in the metropole and out of the political understanding of the totality of the imperialist system, determines itself out of the goal of revolutionary upheaval in the international class war and links itself through its attacks with the worldwide struggles for liberation in a political orientation against the imperialist system. These

passing aggression that much quicker.

That it depends decisively on the revolutionary struggle in Western Europe whether their political might and material basis in the metropole will break down faster or whether they will be able to realize their strategic plan—and in this context a qualitative leap in the development of the revolutionary process is here being fought—is clear.

The revolutionary movement in Western Europe must today transform its manifold struggles into one conscious and specific attack on imperialist power; this means: to attack the current strategic projects of the political, economic and military formation of the imperialist system in Western Europe, and to bind together the politics and practice in an encompassing revolutionary strategy to disrupt the system in the centre for the unity of the metropolitan proletariat into the revolutionary front in Western Europe. The task is now to develop further this strategy in a practical process and to anchor it in the revolutionary movement and the entirety of the antagonistic forces in Western Europe.

ORGANIZE THE REVOLUTIONARY FRONT IN WESTERN EUROPE!

Commando Mara Cagol
Red Army Fraction

NOTES

1. Mara (Margerita) Cagol was a leader of

the Red brigades in Italy. She was married to Renata Curcio, also a leader of the Red Brigades, and led a commando which successfully liberated him from prison in 1975. She herself was killed in a shootout with Italian police during the kidnapping of the industrialist Vittorio Vallarino Gancia in 1975. She became an important symbol of women's militancy in the Italian women's movement. (From the Rheinische Post, 7/10/86).

2. BDI=Bundesverband der Deutschen Industrie: Federal Union of German Industry.

3. SPD=Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands: Social Democratic Party of Germany. Mainstream party of the left; one of two major parties.

4. KWU=Kraftwerk Union: Energy Union.

5. DM 350 million: approximately \$140 million.

6. Grohnde, Brokdorf, Biblis... Grohnde and Biblis are sites of nuclear power plants of approx. 12-1300 Megawatts (2 such reactors alone at Biblis); new projects are planned for or are under construction at Biblis and Brokdorf.

7. Eureka: A project to promote technological cooperation for military development undertaken since July 1985 by 17 European states (EEC members plus Spain, Switzerland, Austria, Norway, Sweden and Finland) in answer to the USA's challenge to European states to participate in SDI. FRG Foreign Minister Genscher said, "Eureka is a necessity with or without SDI. Eureka is neither in its purpose nor goals a substitute nor an alternative to SDI."

8. Wackersdorf: A major demonstration was

held here in April 1986, in which many militants from the resistance movement took part, fighting the police and attempting to sabotage the nuclear reactor.

9. Staatschutz-system: (lit. state protection system) is unique to the FRG. It extends into all functions of the West German state—police, courts, the military, prisons, etc.—and gives the state extraordinary powers under the justification of "protecting the state".

10. CDU=Christliche-Demokratische Union: Christian Democratic Union. FDP=Freie Demokratische Partei: Free Democratic Party. The CDU is the mainstream centre and right party. The FDP is a smaller party representing the interests of large capital, and has power through joining in coalition with either the SDP or the CDU.

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which it can produce only disastrous and destructive forces, is the objective foundation of the polarization process, which is becoming politically effective against the system in all countries of the Third World and the metropolises. Subjectively, and internationally, in this development the unity of the proletariat and the revolutionary politico-military front, its common strategy and perspectives, is taking shape: the worldwide uniform disruption of the imperialist system and its destruction in a world revolutionary process.

For the bourgeoisie there is no other way than to complete the restructuring violently in the metropolises now and to oppress the resistance fascistically; there is no other way than to escalate, politically and militarily the war against the international liberation struggle, and to attempt to achieve military superiority over the socialist states. They cannot retreat from a single point of their strategic plans, with which they want to achieve world domination.

But they shall not pass.

The contradictions are already too deep and the struggles too broad. The contradictions and the revolutionary struggles, breaking open internationally with increasing political uniformity, overtake their crisis-solving strategies and dull the effect of the war machine. The cleft between society and state in the metropolises and the international contradiction between proletariat and bourgeoisie sharpen and deepen themselves for every step, every manoeuvre in their encom-

Political Prisoner on Death Row in U.S.

America's only political prisoner on death row, Mumia Abu-Jamal, has been denied his appeal to have his death sentence overturned by the Pennsylvania Supreme Court.

Mumia's appeal had also demanded a new trial. The March 6 high court decision ignored a multitude of fair trial violations and refused to consider the political motivations which were central in prosecuting Mumia and getting him sentenced to death.

"As a former Black Panther Party spokesman and an outspoken MOVE supporter, Jamal has been in the cross hairs of Philadelphia's racist killer cops for over 20 years", said Partisan Defense Cttee. staff counsel Rachel Wolkenstein in a press release. At the time of his arrest, Jamal was President of the Association of Black Journalists in Philadelphia. He earned the cops' undying hatred especially for his sympathetic interviews with imprisoned MOVE members after the 1978 cop seige.

Mumia was framed up in the killing of a Philadelphia policeman in 1981. At the 1982 sentencing hearing, the prosecutor argued for the death sentence by claiming that Jamal's having been a member of the Black Panther Party showed he was a committed cop-killer. The jury was assured that the death penalty would never be carried out, that Jamal would have "appeal after appeal". For years the Pennsylvania Supreme Court had held in other cases that this obviously false argument mandated automatic reversal of the death sentence upon review. But in its March 6 decision the court ignored its own precedent in its push to silence Mumia by execution.

Mumia was targeted because of what he wrote and said, because of who he is: a radical Black man who became known as "THE VOICE OF THE VOICELESS". At his trial, Mumia was denied counsel of his own choice. To get a hanging jury of 11 whites, the court permitted the seating of a white juror who admitted he could not be impartial, while excluding 12 prospective black jurors simply on the prosecution's request.

Jamal's appeal was supported by amici curiae (friends of the court) briefs from ACLU and the National Conf. of Black Lawyers. Ron Dellums, now chairman of the Congressional Black Caucus, appealed to Pennsylvania's Gov. Casey "to remove the cloud of death from Mr. Abu-Jamal" in a letter last Nov. Thousands of people around the nation have petitioned the governor to demand "MUMIA ABU-JAMAL MUST NOT DIE" as part of a campaign initiated by PDC.

TELEGRAMS AND LETTERS SHOULD BE SENT NOW TO THE GOVERNOR: Gov. Casey

Main Capitol Bldg.
Room 225
Harrisburg, PA.
17120

My name is Mumia Abu-Jamal. My background is in Radical/Revolutionary Media, Print, and Broadcast.

As a young activist in the Black Panther Party, I was taught graphic arts, newspaper layout and related propaganda skills by California Minister of Culture, Emery Douglass, his wife, BPP Editor, Judy Douglass, and Deputy Culture Minister, Brad Brewer, in the East Coast N.Y. Information Ministry headquarters in the Bronx.

Contact:

Partisan Defense Committee
c/o R. Wolkenstein, Esq.
P.O. Box 99, Canal St. Station
New York, NY 10013

Address:

Mumia Abu-Jamal, #M-8335
Drawer R
Huntingdon, PA 16652



MUMIA ABU-JAMAL MOVE Political Prisoner

fenses, were given identical sentences as the men) sentenced to a total of 900 years in prison, for a crime that they (the state) knew they didn't commit!

The trial judge, in fact, told a regionally broadcast radio audience that he had "no idea" who shot the cop, but... "they were tried as a family, I sentenced them as a family" (Judge Edwin S. Talmel, Common Pleas Court Judge, speaking on the *Frank Ford Show*, WWDB-FM (96.5) radio, August 1978, Phil.) the day following the "trial."

Hence, MOVE's "crime"—being members of the MOVE Organization, and refusing to renounce the naturalist, anti-establishment teachings of MOVE Founder, *John Africa*. This is not rhetoric, or supposition. It is interesting to note that twelve people were arrested in the MOVE house/headquarters on the day of the raid. 3 were released prior to trial, after renouncing MOVE. One reaffiliated, and was given a 10-yr sentence for conspiracy.

As a reporter for a well-known public radio station, I covered this frame-up of MOVE, and instead of parroting the State prosecutor's rantings, I simply did what

Later, I expanded into a wide range of radio outlets for news and commentary, having done freelance for the National Black Network, Mutual Black Network, and a host of regional radio stations, always with an anti-authoritarian, radical cast. My work has been aired on National Public Radio, and primarily Black-oriented stations nationally.

Such a stance in reportage hasn't always found favor among station owner-

any so-called "objective" reporter was trained to do, i.e., I got both sides — the system's, and MOVE's.

This activity, undertaken in the spirit of fundamental fairness, and a sense of kinship with fellow radicals, marked me for legal extinction shortly thereafter. Another pre-dawn attack, on men wearing dreadlocks, resulted in my being shot and beaten, and a cop shot, on a central Philadelphia street, in December 1981.

Despite my efforts to defend myself, to select a jury of "peers," to give opening and closing arguments, and cross-examine, I spent most of the "trial" out of the courtroom. On July 3, 1982, a jury, in a rush so as not to spoil their 4th of July weekend, sentenced me to death.

In arguing for the death sentence, the state prosecutor drew on published reports, over a decade old, detailing my Black Panther background. Though I was certainly not ashamed of it, its impact on a virtually all-white jury, middle class and over middle-aged, was a tactic designed to demand death.

Total sentence: Death + 2-1/2 to 5 yrs
Current legal status: direct appeal

RESIST
REVOLT
REBEL

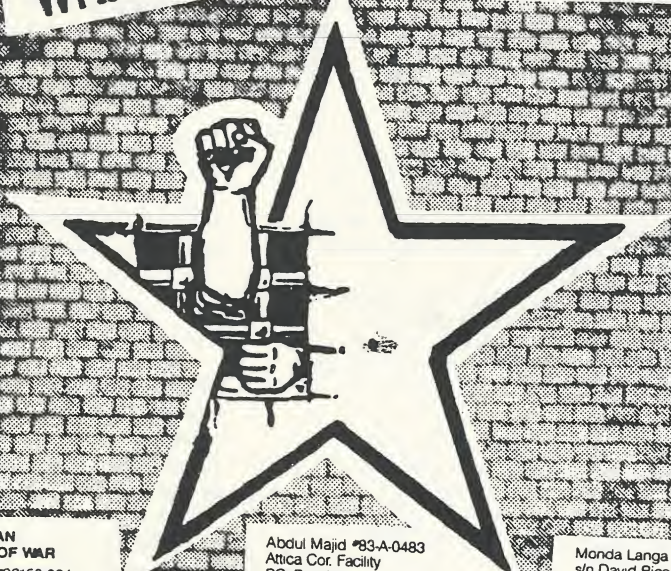
ship, so, with the emergence of the MOVE Organization in Philadelphia, and my penchant for provocative pieces which challenged the status quo (and MOVE posed the most provocative challenge to Philadelphia's status quo since the 1700s), I quickly became stigmatized as a threat to said status quo, and a target among city cops, but principally because of the ongoing, and utterly critical persecution of MOVE members and supporters.

While "colleagues" nicknamed me "Mumia Africa," in an attempt to disparage, the actual Africans were caught in a wicked web of a state set-up, that culminated in the infamous pre-dawn war waged against MOVE, which resulted in nine MOVE men and women being framed for the shooting death of a cop, and sentenced to a century each!

This raid, on August 8, 1978, was broadcast globally and illuminated the depth of corruption that city officials would stoop to, to still the voice of the valiant Africans. 9 men and women (the women, incidentally, not even charged with weapons of-

WRITE TO

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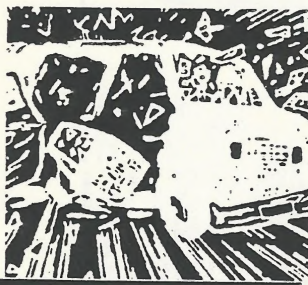
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Publishes pamphlets etc.

Vancouver ABC, Box 2881, Vancouver,
B.C. V6B 3X4, Canada Publishes
pamphlets etc.

California ABC, P.O. Box 215, San
Lorenzo Ca, 94580 USA

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Metropolitan Ave. #D3, Brooklyn NY,
1121 USA Publishes a newsletter.



BREAKTHROUGH: Political journal of the Prairie Fire Organizing Committee. Covers US underground and progressive struggles, Third World Liberation struggles. Quarterly. John Brown Book Club. P.O.B. 14422, San Francisco, CA 94114 USA

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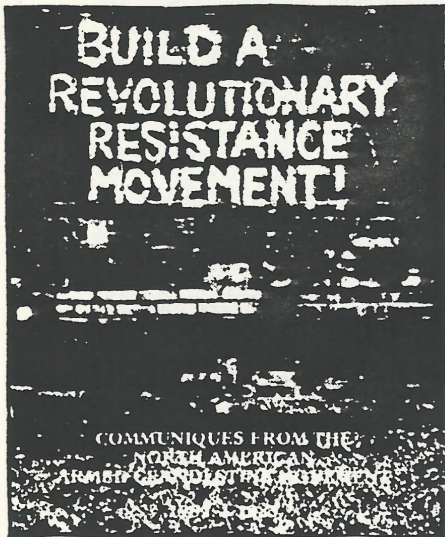


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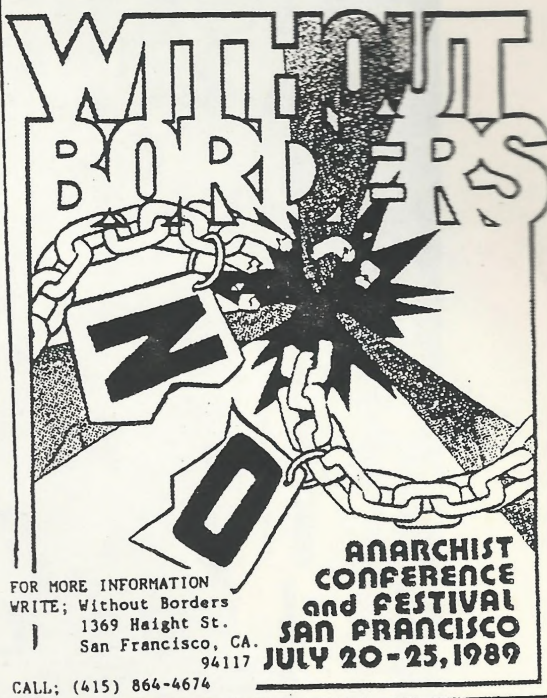




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